CLASSIC REPRINT SERIES

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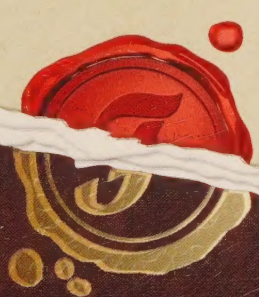

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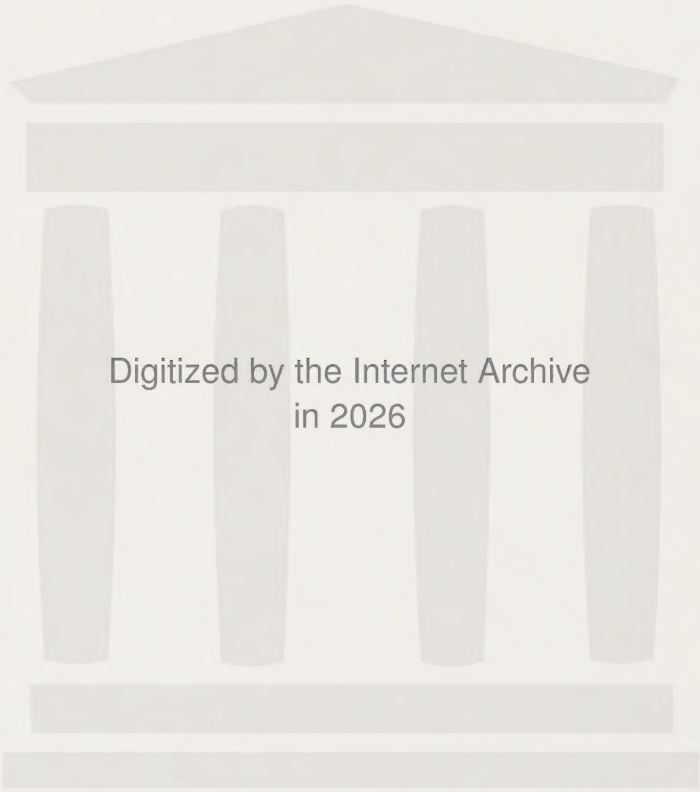
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THE GENUINE

EPISTLES

OF THE

APOSTOLICAL FATHERS,

ST. BARNABAS, § ST. CLEMENT,
ST. IGNATIUS, § ST. POLYCARP,

THE

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS,

AND THE

MARTYRDOMS

OF

ST. IGNATIUS AND ST. POLYCARP,

WRITTEN BY THOSE WHO WERE PRESENT AT THEIR SUFFERINGS.

Being, together with the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, a complete collection of the most primitive antiquity, for about one hundred and fifty years after Christ.

TRANSLATED AND PUBLISHED WITH A LARGE

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

RELATING TO THE SEVERAL TREATISES HERE PUT TOGETHER.

By William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

First American from the Third London Edition.

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R.F.

THE

PREFACE.

HAVING, in the second edition of the Apostolical Fathers, so far improved the translation I before published of them, as to render it almost a new work; it will be necessary for me to give some account of the changes that have been made in it, and what advantages I have had for the making of them.

The Epistles of St. Clement had been so correctly set forth from the Alexandrian manuscript, by the learned Mr. Patrick Young, that having no other copy to recur to, there are no considerable alterations to be expected in the present edition of them. And yet even in these, I have not only carefully reviewed my translation, and compared it with the original Greek, and corrected whatsoever I thought to be less exact in it; but by help of a new, and more accurate collation of Mr. Young's copy, with that venerable manuscript from which it was taken, I have amended some places in the text itself, which had hitherto escaped all the editors of these Epistles. For this I was beholden to the friendly assistance of the very learned, and pious, Dr. Grabe; to whose ready help these Apostolical Fathers owe a great part of that exactness, with which, I presume, they will appear in this edition of them.

The Epistles of St. Ignatius having been lately published at Oxford, by our Reverend Dr. Smith, not

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only with a much greater correctness in the text than ever they were before, but with the advantage of his own, and Bishop Pearson's observations upon the difficult places of them; it cannot be thought, but that I must have very much improved my translation of those Epistles, from the learned labours of two such eminent masters of antiquity; and who had taken such great care, not only to restore those venerable pieces to their primitive purity, but to render them clear, and intelligible, to the meanest capacities. One of those Epistles had never been set forth, from any good manuscript in its original Greek, when I published my first edition of them. This, together with the martyrdom of that blessed Saint, has since been printed by Monsieur Ruinard at Paris, and from thence by Dr. Grabe at Oxford. I have compared my translation of both with their copy; and not only corrected it where it disagreed with that, but have noted in the margin, the chief variations of this last edition, from those which had been published by Archbishop Usher, and Isaac Vossius before.

Of the epistle and martyrdom of St. Polycarp, and the epistle of Barnabas, I have little to say more than that I have revised the translation of them, with all the care I could, and rendered it much more correct (especially the epistle of Barnabas) than it was before. But as for the books of Hermas, I may without vanity affirm that they are not only more exact in the translation than they were before, but that the very books themselves will be found in greater purity in this, than in any other edition that has ever yet been published of them. The old Latin version has been entirely

collated with an antient manuscript of it in the Lambeth library; and from thence amended in more places than could well have been imagined. And that very version itself has been farther improved from a multitude of new fragments of the original Greek, never before observed; and for the most part taken out of the late magnificent edition of the works of St. Athanasius; though that piece be none of his, but the work of the younger Athanasius, patriarch of the same church, who lived about the 7th century.—[See Tom. ii. p. 251. doctrin. ad Antioch Ducem.]—Both these advantages I do likewise owe to the same learned person (Dr. Grabe) I before mentioned, who not only purposely collated the one for me, but readily communicated to me the extracts he had made for his own use out of the other.

Having said thus much concerning the several pieces themselves here set forth, and the translation of them, I shall not trouble the reader with any long account of my own introductory discourse; in which I have added some things and corrected others. I hope as it now stands, it may be of some use to those who have not any better opportunities of being acquainted with these matters, and convince them of the just regard that is due to the discourses which follow it, upon this double account, both that they were (for the most part) truly written by those whose names they bear; and that those writers lived so near the Apostolical times, that it cannot be doubted, but that they do indeed represent to us the doctrine, government and discipline of the church as they received it from the Apostles; the Apostles from Christ, and that blessed Spirit, who

directed them both in what they taught, and in what they ordained.

What that doctrine, government and discipline is, I have particularly shewn in the 11th chapter of my discourse. I shall only observe here, that is it so exactly agreeable to the present doctrine, government and discipline of the church of England by law established; that no one who allows of the one, can reasonably make any exceptions against the other. So that we must either say, that the immediate successors of the Apostles had departed from the institution of those holy men from whom they received their instruction in the Gospel of Christ, and by whom they were converted to the faith of it: or if that be too unreasonable to be supposed of such excellent persons, who not only lived in some of the highest stations of the Christian Church, but the most of them suffered martyrdom for the sake of it: we must then conclude what is indeed the truth, that the church of England, whereof we are members, is both in its doctrine, government, discipline and worship, truly Apostolical; and in all respects comes the nearest up to the primitive pattern of any Christian Church at this day in the world.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

SEVERAL PIECES CONTAINED IN THIS BOOK, AND THE ORDER OF THEM.

A discourse concerning the treatises here collected, and the authors of them.

PART I.

The first Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians.

The Epistle of St. Polycarp to the Philippians.

The genuine Epistles of St. Ignatius.

A relation of the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, written by those who were present at his sufferings.

The Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, concerning the martyrdom of St. Polycarp.

PART II.

The Catholick Epistle of St. Barnabas.

The Shepherd of Hermas, in three books.

The remains of St. Clement's second Epistle to the Corinthians.

An index to both parts.

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE SEVERAL TREATISES CONTAINED IN THE FOLLOWING COLLECTION, AND THE AUTHORS OF THEM.

THE INTRODUCTION.

1. HAD I designed the following collection either for the benefit or perusal of the learned world, I should have needed to say but very little by way of introduction to it: the editors of the several treatises here put together, having already observed so much upon each of them, that it would I believe be difficult to discover, I am sure would be very needless to trouble the reader with any more.

2. But as it would be ridiculous for me to pretend to have designed a translation for those who are able with much more profit and satisfaction to go to the originals; so, being now to address myself to those especially who want that ability, I suppose it may not be amiss before I lead them to the discourses themselves, to give them some account both of the authors of the several pieces I have here collected; and of the tracts themselves; and of that collection that is now the first time made of them in our own tongue.—Though as to the first of these, I shall say the less, by reason of that excellent account that has been already given of the most of them by our pious and learned Dr. Cave: whose lives of the Apostles and Primitive Fathers, with his other admirable discourse of Primitive Christianity, I could heartily wish were in the hands of all the more judicious part of our English readers.

3. Nor may such an accountt, as I now propose to myself to give of the following pieces, be altogether useless to some even of the learned themselves; who wanting either the opportunity of collecting the several authors necessary for such a search, or leisure to examine them, may not be unwilling to see that faithfully brought together under one short and general view, which would have required some time and labour to have searched out, as it lay diffused in a multitude of writers, out of which they must otherwise have gathered it.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS.

Of the value which the antients put upon this Epistle. Of St. Clement himself, who was the author of it; that it was the same Clement of whom St. Paul speaks, Phil. iv. 3. Of his conversion to Christianity: when he became Bishop of Rome, as also whether he suffered Martyrdom, uncertain. Of the occasion of his writing this Epistle, and the two main parts of it. Of the time when it was written. That there is no reason to doubt but that the Epistle we now have was written by St. Clement; the objection of Tentzelius against it of no force. How this Epistle was first published by Mr. Patrick Young; and translated by Mr. Burton into English. Of the present edition of it.

1. THE first tract which begins this collection, and perhaps the most worthy too, is that admirable, or as some of the antients have called it, that wonderful(*a*) Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians; which he wrote, not in his own name, but in the name of the whole church of Rome, to them. An Epistle so highly esteemed by the primitive church, that we are told it was wont to be publicly read in the assemblies(*b*) of it: and if we may credit one of the antient collections(*c*) of the canon of scripture, was placed among the sacred and inspired writings. Nor is it any small evidence of the value which in those days was put upon this Epistle, that in the only copy which for ought we know at this day remains of it, we find it to have been written in the same volume(*d*) with the books of the New Testament: which seems to confirm what was before observed concerning it; that it was heretofore wont to be read in the congregations, together with the holy scriptures of the Apostles and Evangelists.

2. But of the Epistle itself, I shall take occasion to speak more particularly by and by. It will now be

(*a*) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 16.
(*b*) Idem. lib. iii. cap. 12.
(*c*) Canon. Apostol. Can. ult. (*d*) MS. Alexan.

more proper to inquire a little into the author of it; and consider when, and upon what occasion, it was written by him.

3. And first for what concerns the person who wrote this Epistle; it is no small commendation which the Holy Ghost by St. Paul has left us of him, Phil. iv. 3. where the Apostle mentions him not only as his fellow labourer in the work of the Gospel; but as one whose name was written in the book of life. A character which if we will allow our Saviour to be the judge, far exceeds that of the highest power and dignity; and who therefore when his disciples began to rejoice upon the account of that authority which he had bestowed upon them, insomuch that even the Devils were subject unto them, Luke x. 17. though he seemed to allow that there was a just matter of joy in such an extraordinary power, yet bade them not to rejoice so much in this, that those spirits were subject unto them; but rather, says he, rejoice that your names are written in the book of life.

4. It is indeed insinuated by a late very learned critic,(*e*) as if this were not that Clement of whom we are now discoursing, and whose Epistle to the Corinthians I have here subjoined: but besides that, he himself confesses, that the person of whom St. Paul there speaks was a Roman; both Eusebius(*f*) and Epiphanius, and St. Hierome, expressly tell us that the Clement there meant was the same that was afterwards Bishop of Rome; nor do we read of any other to whom either the character there mentioned, of being the fellow labourer of that Apostle, or the eulogy given of having his name written in the book of life, could so properly belong as to him; whom therefore the generality of learned men both of the antient and present times, without scruple, conclude to have been referred to in that passage.

(*e*) Grot. Annot. in Phil. iv. 3.

(*f*) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 12. Epiph. lib. i. Adv. Carpocr. n. 6 Hieronym. de script. Eccles. et Comment. in loc. Item. Lib 1. adv. Jovin. Photii. Cod Tom. 113, &c.

5. I shall not say any thing of what is reported by some(*g*) concerning his noble birth and family; of his studies at Athens; and of the occasion and manner of his conversion to Christianity; which they tell us, was wrought by St. Peter, whom he met with Barnabas at Cæsarea; and who there first declared to him the doctrine of Christ, and inclined him to a good opinion of it. All which is very uncertain, and justly doubted of by many. I shall choose rather to observe that whatever his condition was before he became a Christian, he was held in no small reputation after; but merited such a character from the antient fathers, as is hardly given to any besides the Apostles. Nay, some of them doubt not in plain terms to call him an Apostle;(*h*) and though St. Hierome durst not go so far as that, yet he gives him another title but little short of it; he(*i*) tells us that he was an Apostolical man, and as Rufinus(*k*) adds almost an Apostle.

6. To declare more particularly how he spent the first part of his life, after his conversion, is neither necessary to the design I have now in hand, nor can any certain account be given of it. Only as we are told in the general, that he was St. Peter's disciple, so it may not be improbable that for some time he attended his motions, and was subject to his direction.

7. But whatever he was, or wherever he laboured before, in this I think antiquity is absolutely agreed, that he at last came to be Bishop of Rome; and was placed in that See by the express direction of one, or both the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. To whom he succeeded, or at what time to fix his entrance on that great charge, is a point that I suppose will never be agreed upon among learned men. If any could have settled this matter beyond dispute, it had with-

(*g*) Vid. Eucher. Lugd. de contempt. Mundi, and Chron. Albert Stad. inter Testimonia a Junio citata.

(*h*) Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iv.

(*i*) Hieron. in Isaiam. c. 52.

(*k*) De Adulterat. lib. Originis.

out question been done by those(*l*) of our own nation who as they have the latest searched with all possible diligence into it, so never were there any better qualified for the determination of it. But as their mutual disagreement,(*m*) after all their endeavours to fix this point, shews that one of them must have been mistaken; so I doubt not but it will sufficiently satisfy all such as shall consider the high character they have so justly obtained both by their learning and judgment in these kind of disquisitions, and they are points not to be determined; and that he who shall do the best upon them, may only be said to have made a good guess, in a subject too hard for any at this distance clearly to decide.(*n*)

8. Nor is there any less controversy among learned men concerning the death of St. Clement, than there has been about the order and time of his sucession to his Bishopric. That he lived in expectation of martyrdom, and was ready to have undergone it, should it have pleased God to have called him to it, the Epistle(*o*) we are now speaking of, sufficiently shews us. But that he did glorify God by those particular sufferings which some have pretended, is I confess to me a matter of some doubt. For first, it must be acknowledged that Ruffinus(*p*) is one of the first authors we have that speaks of him as a martyr. Neither Eusebius(*q*) (who is usually very exact in his observations of such things) nor any of the fathers yet nearer his time, as Iranæus, Clemens, Alexandrinus, Turtullian, &c. take any notice of it. And for the account which some others have yet more lately given us of the manner of his death, besides that in some parts it is altogether fabulous; it is not improbable, but that

(*l*) Pearson Dissert. de Success. prim. R R. P P. cum. Append. Hen. Dodwelli. Pearson. dissert. Posthum. Cap v. Num. 7.
(*m*) Dodwelli. Dissert. singul. cap. xv. pag. 220.
(*n*) Dodwell. Dissert. singul. cap. xi. p. 151.
(*o*) Clem. Epistle to the Corinth. Num, vii.
(*p*) De Adulterat. Lib. Orig.
(*q*) Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 34.

as our learned Mr. Dodwell(*r*) has observed, the first rise of it may have been owing to their confounding Flavius Clemens the Roman counsel, with Clement, Bishop of Rome: who did indeed(*s*) suffer martyrdom for the faith about the time of which they speak; and some other parts of whose character, such as his relation to the emperor, and banishment into Pontus, they manifestly ascribe to him.

9. However, seeing Eusebius(*t*) refers his death to the third year of Trajan, famous for the persecution of the church, and may thereby seem to insinuate that Clement also then suffered among the rest; and that Simeon Metaphrastes(*u*) has given a long and particular account of his condemnation to the mines first and then of his death following thereupon: as I shall not determine any thing against it, so they who are desirous to know what is usually said concerning the passions of this holy man, may abundantly satisfy their curiosity in this particular, from the accurate collection of Dr. Cave in the life of this Saint; too long to be transcribed into the present discourse.

10. And this may suffice to have been observed in short concerning St. Clement himself: as for the Epistle we are now speaking of to the Corinthians, I have already taken notice how great a value was put upon it in the most primitive ages of the church, and what a mighty commendation has been left us of it, by the writers of those times. Nor indeed does it at all come short of the highest praises which they have given to it; being a piece composed with such an admirable spirit of love and charity; of zeal towards God, and concern for the church of Christ; of the most excellent exhortations, delivered with the greatest plainness and simplicity of speech, and yet pressed many times with

(*r*) Dodwel. Addit. ad Cap. vi. Dissert. Posthum. Pearson, Num. 22. pag. 214.

(*s*) Vid. Euseb. Chro. Ano. xcvii. Et in Euseb. Annot. Scalig. p. 205. b. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. cap. 18.

(*t*) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. cap. 34.

(*u*) Apud Coteler. Patr. Apostol. Tom. 1.

such moving eloquence too, that I cannot imagine what could have been desired in such an Epistle more proper for the end for which it was composed: what could have been written more becoming an Apostolical age, and the pen of one of the most eminent Bishops of it.

But that it may be the better understood by those who shall now think fit to peruse it; there are a few things which it will be necessary for me in this place to observe concerning it.

12. And the first is, the occasion that was given for the writing of this Epistle. For however we have no particular account what it was, yet may we from the subject of it give a very probable guess at it. When St. Paul wrote his first Epistle to the Corinthians, the two great things that seemed to have especially called for it, were, first, the divisions of that church upon the account of their teachers, and through their vain conceit of their own spiritual gifts: and, secondly, the great mistake that was getting in among them concerning the nature of the future resurrection. And however the Apostle by his writing and authority did for the present put a stop to the one, and set them right as to the other; yet it seems after his death, they began again to fall not only into the same contentions, but into the same error too, that had caused them so much trouble before.

13. Now this gave occasion to St. Clement to write the present Epistle to them: in which having first taken notice of the rise of those new seditions that were broke out among them, and exhorted them to a Christian composure of them, he in the next place goes on, by many arguments to establish the undoubted truth and certainty of the future resurrection; which was the other thing in which St. Paul had before observed them to have been greatly and dangerously mistaken.

14. This then was the occasion, and is the main subject and design of the following Epistle. But now about what time it was written, it is not so easy

to determine. Junius(*x*) supposes it was written by St. Clement in the name of the Church of Rome, about two years before his martyrdom, and that from the place of his banishment: which also seems to have been the opinion of our learned Mr. Burton(*y*) in his notes upon this Epistle. Baronius(*z*) places it six or seven years sooner, about the twelfth year of Domitian. With him Cotelerius(*a*) agrees, only he supposes the persecution was then drawing towards an end; it being otherwise unlikely that such an embassy could have been sent from Rome with the Epistle, as by the close of it we find there was. But Mr. Dodwell(*b*) with much greater probability, thinks it to have been written yet sooner, viz. immediately after the end of Nero's persecution: and to that refers those troubles complained of by St. Clement in the very beginning of his Epistle;(*c*) and in which he elsewhere(*d*) speaks of St. Peter and St. Paul, as some of the latest instances of any that had died for the sake of their religion.

15. Now that which seems yet more to countenance this opinion is, that St. Clement in another part of his Epistle(*e*) speaks of the temple service not only as still continuing, but as being in such a state as necessarily supposes all things to have been yet in peace and quiet at Jerusalem, from whence that learned man(*f*) with great reason concludes, that this Epistle must have been written somewhat before the 12th year of Nero, in which the Jewish wars first broke out. Let us add to this, that in the close of this Epistle we find mention made of Fortunatus(*g*) as the person whom the Church of Corinth had probably sent to Rome

(*x*) Vid. in Annot. in Epist. Clem. in princip.
(*y*) Annot. 2. p. 41.
(*z*) Baron. Annal. ad Ann. xcv. Num. 1.
(*a*) Coteler. Not. in Clem. Epist. p. 82.
(*b*) Dodwell. Append. ad. cap. vi. Dissert. 2. Pearson. pag. 219. Num. 24.
(*c*) Epistle, c. i. (*d*) Ibid. c. v. (*e*) Chap. xii.
(*f*) Dodwel. loc. supr. cit.
(*g*) Epist. c. lix.

with an account of their disasters, and by whom together with the two delegates of their own, the Roman Church returned this Epistle to the Corinthians. Now Fortunatus is expressly said by St. Paul to have been an old disciple in his time; insomuch that he places him with Stephanus who was the first fruits of Achaia, 1 Cor. xvi. 15, 17. And therefore we must conclude that this Epistle could not have been written so late as some would have it, seeing this man was not only still alive, but in a condition of undertaking so great a journey as from Corinth to Rome: for from thence it is most likely he was sent with the letter of that Church to Rome; and so became the bearer of this Epistle, which was written in the name of the Church of Rome in answer to it.

16. I conclude then that this Epistle was written shortly after the end of the persecution under Nero, between the 64th and 70th year of Christ:(*g*) and that as the learned defender of this period supposes, in the vacancy of the See of Rome; before the promotion of St. Clement to the government of it. But of this last circumstance, as there is no certainty, so the express authority of Tertullian,(*h*) that St. Clement was made Bishop of Rome by St. Peter; and this delivered as the tradition of the Roman Church in the days that he lived, has inclined others(*i*) rather to think that he must have been Bishop of that Church when he wrote this Epistle; though neither can this be affirmed as certain and indubitable.

17. But this is not all: there is still a difficulty remaining, and that of much greater consequence than any I have hitherto mentioned: namely, whether the Epistle we now have, be, after all, the genuine Epistle of St. Clement, so much applauded by the antients; so long looked upon as lost to us, and so lately discov-

(*g*) Dodwel loc. supr. cit. add. Cave Hist. Literat in Clement. p. 18. Convare Dr. Grabe Spicileg. Tom. i. pag. 255, &c.

(*h*) De Præscript. adv. Hæres. cap. 32.

(*i*) See Dr. Grabe, loc. cit. p. 259.

ered in the last age? and this I mention, not that I think there is any real occasion offered to incline us to doubt it; but because I find there are some(*k*) who would seem still to make a question of it.

18. And here, I would in the first place ask these wary men, what mark they can propose whereby to distinguish the true work of any antient writer, from a false and suppositious, that does not occur in the present piece?

19. That St. Clement(*l*) wrote an Epistle to the Corinthians; that he wrote it on the same occasion that we find expressed in this we now have; that this Epistle was of great reputation, so as to be publickly read in the churches heretofore; all this the authority of the antient Fathers will not suffer us to doubt. That the copy we now have of this Epistle was taken from the end of a manuscript of the New Testament, written, as is supposed, not long after the first general council of Nice, about three hundred years after St. Clement's death, and at the very time that it was yet wont to be so read in the Churches; both the learned editor(*m*) of it assures us, and the manuscript itself sufficiently declares. Now how can it be supposed, that an Epistle so famous in those days, so well known to every Christian at that time, when the very copy was written, which we at this day have of it; should have been alone concealed from the transcriber of this Manuscript Bible, and a spurious piece introduced to supply the place of it?

20. Nor is this all: for if we have not now the true copy of this Epistle, it is manifest that then neither had the antient Fathers of those first ages, a true copy of it, for the passages(*n*) which they have quoted are the very same in our Epistle; and so they too were

(*k*) Callovius Bibl. illustr. N. T. To. ii. Exam. præf. Grot. in 1 Cor. p. 250. Voetius Paralip. p. 1167, &c. Vid. Tentzel. Exercit. select. 2. de Phœnice.

(*l*) Vid. Collov. Oper. Socin. To. ii. p. 487.

(*m*) Vid. Jun. Præfat. in Epist. Clem.

(*n*) Vid. Baron. Annal. Anno. xcv. Num. iii. &c.

imposed upon, no less than we are in this matter.—And can this be rationably supposed? can we think that those great men, and diligent searchers into antiquity, were ignorant of an Epistle, not only in every bodies hand, but almost in every bodies memory, through their constant reading and hearing of it.

21. Yet farther; let me ask those who call in question the credit of this excellent piece; what do they find in it either unworthy of St. Clement, or disagreeable to those times in which we suppose it to have been written? certainly, if this be a counterfeit piece, it was not only exceedingly well done; but without any design to serve any party or interest by it; there being nothing in the whole Epistle that might not have become as excellent an age, and as holy a man as that age, and that man were, in which we have all the reason in the world to beleive it was composed.

22. But what then is it that makes these learned men so unwilling to own this Epistle to be the genuine work of that holy Bishop to whom we ascribe it? it is in short this;(*o*) that the author of this Epistle, in proof of the possibility of a future resurrection, reports the story of the Phœnix's reviving out of his own ashes; which is not only a thing false in itself, but unworthy of such a person, as St. Clement, to mention.

23. now not to say any thing as to this matter, first, that Photius,(*p*) a severe critic of the antient Fathers, who first started it as a fault in St. Clement that he made use of this as a true observation, which it seems the other looked upon as a mere fable; yet did not think it any objection against the authority of this Epistle, which he nevertheless acknowledged to be St. Clement's: to pass by, secondly, that the generality of the antient Fathers have made use of

(*o*) Tentzelius Dissert. Select. de Phœnice, p. 33. Et Num. xvi. pag. 45.

(*p*) Photii. Biblioth. Tmem. cxxvi. p. 306.

the very same instance, in proof of the same point; as the learned Junius(*q*) has particularly shewn in his notes upon this passage; and the authority of whose works no one yet ever called in question upon that account; I would only ask, thirdly, what if St. Clement really believed the truth of what he here wrote concerning this matter? that there was such a bird; and that he did revive out of the cinders of the body before burnt? where was the great harm either in giving credit to such a wonder: or believing it, to make such a use as he here does of it?

24. The truth is, whosoever shall consider both the general credit which this story had in those days; and the particular accident which fell out, not long before the time that this Epistle was written to confirm the belief of it, (of which one of the most judicious of all the Roman historians(*r*) has left us a large account;) I mean of the Phœnix that was said to have come into Egypt a little after the death of Christ, and to have given occasion of much discourse to the most learned men both of the Greeks and Romans, concerning the very miracle of which St. Clement here speaks; will find it to have been no such strange thing in this holy man to have suffered himself to be led away with the common opinion; and to have believed what so many learned men did, among the Jews(*s*) and Gentiles,(*t*) no less than among the Christians, viz. that God was pleased to give the world this great earnest and type of a future resurrection; and to silence thereby the cavils of such as should pretend, (what we know the generality of the wise men of the world did) that it was impossible for God to effect such a restitution.

(*q*) Tertullian. Origin. Cyril. Hierosolym. Euseb. Greg. Naz. Epiphanus, Synesius, Hieronym. Lactantius, &c. Jun. Notæ in Clem. pag. 34.

(*r*) Tacitus Annal. libr. vi. num. 28.

(*s*) Vid. Annot. Edit. Oxon. in loc. Bochartus Hierozoic, in Phœnice, &c. apud Tentzel. pag. 18, 19.

(*t*) Vid. Ed. Oxo. loc. cit. Adde. Annot. Schotti. in Photium. Tmein. cxxvi. pag. 305.

25. But I insist too long on so trifling an objection however magnified by some men: and may, I think, from what I have said conclude, that if this be indeed, as they(*u*) confess it is, the greatest ground they have to call in question the credit of this Epistle, there is then nothing that ought to move any considering man to entertain the least doubt or scruple concerning it.

26. There are indeed two other exceptions which Photius(*x*) has made against St. Clement upon the account of the Epistle before us, which yet he looked upon as unquestionably his: the one for that he speaks in it of the worlds beyond the ocean; the other, in that he seems not to have written so honourably as was fitting, of the divinity of our blessed Saviour. But as the latter of these is but a mere cavil against this holy man, who not only in his other Epistle expressly asserts the divine nature of Christ, but even in this speaks in such a manner of him, as shews him to be much more than a mere creature;(*y*) so in the former he said nothing but what was agreeable both to the notions and language of the times in which he lived; when it was common to call the British Isles another world, or as St. Clement here styles them, the worlds beyond the ocean.

27. And these I think are the chief exceptions that have been raised against the following Epistle; and which however insisted upon in these latter times, yet did not hinder the first and best ages of the church, when men were less curious, but much more pious than they now are, from putting a very great value upon it. Nor will they I suppose have any more weight with any serious and ingenuous person at this day: or hinder him from esteeming it a very great blessing to our present times, that a work so highly esteemed among

(*u*) Aliis argumentis, tum HOC IMPERIMIS. Tentzel. Dissert. cit. pag. 33.

(*x*) Photii Bibl. Cod. cxxvi.

(*y*) Indeed to be God. See Bishop Bull, def. fid. Nic. Sect. ii. cap. 3. and Dr. Grabe's learned Annot. on that Chapter.

the antient Fathers, but so long, and as it was justly feared, irrecoverably lost to these latter ages, was at last so happily found out, for the increase and confirmation both of our faith and charity.

28. Now the manner of its discovery and publication was this. It hapenned about the beginning of the last age, that Cyril Patriarch of Alexandria being removed from thence to Constantinople, brought along with him a great treasure of books to that place. Among the rest he had a very antient manuscript copy both of the Septuagint old, and of the new Greek Testament, written about four hundred years after Christ.(z) This he sent, as the most valuable present that he was master of, to our late royal sovereign king Charles the first, by Sir Thomas Roe, his majesty's ambassador at that time at the Port. Being thus brought into England, and placed in the royal library at St. James's Mr. Patrick Young, the learned keeper of the king's library at that time, discovered this Epistle, with part of another, at the end of the New Testament; and was thereupon commanded by his majesty to publish it for the benefit of the world. This he accordingly did, with a Latin translation, and notes at Oxford, Anno 1633. It was not long(a) after that a very learned man, and a great master of the Greek tongue, Mr. William Burton, translated it into English; and published it very accurately, and with new annotations of his own upon it. This I had not seen till the first sheets of the present edition were sent to the press; nor had I any other knowledge either of that, or of the author, than what I found in the accounts given by our late Reverend Dr. Cave,(b) and Monsieur Colomesius(b) of the one, and by our laborious antiquary Mr. A. Wood(c) of the other; in his useful collection of the lives and writings

(z) Vid. Præfat. Jun. in Edit.
(a) Anno 1647. Lond. 4to
(b) Edit. Colomesii, Lectori. Cave. Hist. Literar. in Clem
(c) Athenæ Oxon. 2. part. p. 137, 138.

of our modern authors. And though I believe whosoever shall take the pains to compare the two translations together, will find them generally agreeing as to the sense; yet there will otherwise appear such manifest differences between them, as may abundantly satisfy any impartial person, that I have truly translated it from the original Greek, and not revised only Mr. Burton's edition of it.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE EPISTLE OF ST. POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

Of the time when St. Polycarp wrote this Epistle. The reason of its being placed before the Epistles of Ignatius. That St. Polycarp wrote several other pieces; yet nothing of his now remaining but only this Epistle. Whether this Epistle has been interpolated, as those of Ignatius were? the latter part of it vindicated against the exceptions of Monsieur Daille, and some others. Of the translation of it into our own language by Dr. Cave; and of the present edition of it.

1. THE next piece that follows in the present collection, is the Epistle of St. Polycarp to the Phillippians. In placing of which I have followed the example, not so much of our most reverend Archbishop Usher,(*d*) as of St. Polycarp himself; though in the order of time the Epistles of Ignatius ought to have had the precedence; St. Polycarp not writing this letter to the Pillipians till about, or a little after, the time that that glorious martyr suffered for the faith of Christ; as from several passages in the Epistle itself may plainly be made appear.

2. For first, having in his ninth chapter exhorted the Philippians to obey the word of righteousness, and to exercise all patience after the examples of those holy men whom they had seen among them; he par-

(*d*) Edit. Polycarp. & Ignat. Oxon. Annot. 1644.

ticularly instances in Ignatius(*e*) as one of them. Now the acts(*f*) of the martyrdom of that holy Bishop tell us, that the time when they beheld his patience set forth before their eyes was, when he passed by them in chains to Rome, in order to his being cast to the wild beasts according to the sentence pronounced upon him by the Emperor Trajan; by consequence that this Epistle must have been written some time after his condemnation.

3. But St. Polycarp goes yet farther; and in the next words supposes, that Ignatius might have been dead at the time he wrote to them for enforcing his exhortation to them to follow the examples of Ignatius, and the rest of those excellent men whom he there names he subjoins; being confident of this, that that all these have not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and are gone to the place that was due to them from the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they loved not this present world, but him who died, and was raised again by God for us. In which words he evidently implies that Ignatius too, as well as the rest of those whom he there mentions, was by this time gone to the place that was due to him from the Lord, upon the account of his sufferings; and by consequence had finished his martyrdom.

4, It was then about the time of Ignatius's death that St. Polycarp wrote this Epistle to the Philippians. And yet that if this holy man had suffered, it was but a very little time that he had done so, is clear from another passage of the same Epistle;(*g*) where he desires the Philippians to send him word what they had heard with any certainty concerning Ignatius, and those that went to Rome with him. From whence it appears, that though he supposed that Ignatius by that

(*e*) Epist. of Polycarp, Numb. ix.
(*f*) Mart. of Ignat. Numb. x.
(*g*) Epist. of Polycarp, Numb. xiv.

time might have suffered, yet he had not received any certain account of it, but was still to learn the manner and circumstances of his passion.

5. Now this will lead us to a yet more exact conjecture of the time of St. Polycarp's writing the following Epistle, viz. that it must have been just about the time of St. Ignatius's death, it being no way probable that had Ignatius been any long time dead, so great a Bishop, and so dear a friend of his as St. Polycarp was, should have been still to learn the certainty of it.

6. And this may serve, by the way, not only to fix the time when this Epistle was written, namely, at the end of the year of our Lord 116, or in the beginning of 117; but also to shew how groundless the exception of those men(*h*) is against the authority of it, who pretend to find out a contradiction between the two passages I have now mentioned: and would from thence infer either the utter falseness of this whole Epistle; or at least conclude that this latter part of it is none of Polycarp's, but added by some latter hand to give the greater credit to the Epistles of St. Ignatius, which they are resolved by all means to reject as none of his. For indeed, were not men willing to be contentious, where is the contradiction they so much boasted of between the two places I have before alluded? Is it that in the former of them he sets before them the sufferings of St. Ignatius, and exhorts them to follow the example of his patience? But it is evident the sufferings he there speaks of were those which the Philippians had seen in him: the weight of his chains: the hardships of his journey, the rudeness of the soldiers that guarded him, and of which the blessed martyr himself complains in one of his Epistles;(*i*) and to add no more, the expectation of that cruel death he was suddenly to undergo.

(*h*) Dallæus in Pseudepigr. cap. xxxii. pa. 428. Larroque Observat. in Pearson, p. 69.

(*i*) Ignat. Epist. to the Romans, cap. v.

7. But I suppose the contradiction lies in what follows: that in one place(*k*) he speaks of him as if he had already suffered, and yet in the other desires the Philippians to send him word what they had heard of it. Now what is there in all this that does not very well agree together? St. Polycarp, either by the computation of the arrival of Ignatius at Rome, or by the consideration of the solemn festival that was wont at that time to be held there, and at which it was usual to exhibit such kind of spectacles to the people; or it may be, lastly, from the accounts which he had received of this holy martyr from some of those that were with him; did suppose, nay, if you will, did not doubt but that Ignatius was dead when he wrote his Epistle to the Philippians. Yet having not hitherto received any certain account of it, and being not absolutely sure, whether he had suffered or no, or if he had, how he had been treated by his enemies, and how he had behaved himself in his last encounter with the beasts; desires the Philippians, who were much nearer to Rome than he was, and might therefore very probably have heard much later from thence than he had done, to send him a certain account of what they knew as to this matter. What is there in all this, I do not say that looks like a contradiction, but that is not very natural; and particularly most becoming the love and friendship of the blessed Polycarp towards him concerning whom he so diligently inquired? I am sure Photius,(*l*) who had not only read this Epistle, but transcribed this last passage out of it; though a severe critic as any that have ever perused it since, saw no contradiction in it to any thing that went before; for if he had, he was not of a humour to have let it pass, without making some reflection or other upon it.

8. Let me add yet more, that neither could those see the contradiction here pretended, who in our pre-

(*k*) Vid. Daillæum and Larroque loc. cit.
(*l*) Photius Bibl. Tmem cxxvi. pag. 305.

sent times would have been as forward as any to have made use of it to the disadvantage of this Epistle, had they had but the least grounds so to do. I shall instance only in two: the first, the late learned divine of Leyden, Monsieur le Moyne:(*m*) who though he judged the passage relating to St. Ignatius's Epistles, which was wanting in his manuscript, to be abrupt, and would from thence argue against the authority of it; yet has he made no reflection on the words immediately following, in which those others will have the contradiction to lie.

9. The other that I shall mention in opposition to this pretence, is a yet later writer, Ernestus Tentzelius;(*n*) who though no great friend to this Epistle, which he supposes to have been corrupted, no less than those of Ignatius were in the antient editions of them; yet utterly refuses to comply with this objection, as not apprehending that there was the least ground for it.

10. But to return from this digression, in answer to the exception of two of the most learned adversaries of this Epistle, against the credit of it: though, as I have now shewn, St. Polycarp, wrote not to the Philippians till after the death of St. Ignatius, and consequently this Epistle in order of time ought to have been placed after those which the other wrote immediately before it; yet was it fit to give this the precedency in the following collection, both as containing a most proper introduction to the Epistles of Ignatius, and as having in all probability been first sent in the same order by St. Polycarp to the Philippians.

11. For thus we find that holy man speaking to them in the close of his letter:(*o*) the Epistles of Ignatius which he wrote unto us, together with what others of his have come to our hands, we have sent unto you according to your order; which are subjoined to this Epistle. So both Eusebius(*p*) transcrib-

(*m*) Proleg. ad Var. Sacr. in Polycarp.
(*n*) Exercit. Select. Exerc iv. Num. 42. pag. 157.
(*o*) Polycarp. Epist. Num. xiii.
(*p*) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 36.

ed it out of the original Greek; and so we find it in our antient Latin Version,(q) which is all that remains of that part of this Epistle; from whence our learned Archbishop Usher(r) with great reason concludes, that St. Polycarp caused the copies of St. Ignatius's Epistles to be immediately added at the end of his own, and sent them to the Philippians together with it.

12. And this perhaps may have been one great means of preserving this Epistle of St. Polycarp, from the fate that has attended all the rest of his writings. For being wont to be transcribed together with those of Ignatius, and commonly placed at the front of them, they mutually helped to secure one another: whilst the rest of his writings, for want of being thus collected together, have for a long time been so utterly lost to the world, that neither Photius,(s) nor St. Hierome,(t) nor Eusebius,(u) seem to have had any particular catalogue of them; nor hath Irenæus, the Disciple of St. Polycarp, given us such a one.

13. Indeed for what concerns the last of these, I mean Irenæus;(w) he tells us that this great man did write several Epistles, not only to the neighbouring churches, to confirm them in the faith, but even to particular persons, for their instruction and admonition. But what they were, or to whom they were sent, neither does he say, nor does Eusebius, where he speaks of the writings of St. Polycarp, mention any more than that Epistle to the Philippians, of which we are now discoursing. And though a few later authors(x) pretend to give us the very titles of some other of his works; yet have we reason to doubt from this silence of those who lived the nearest to his time,

(q) Apud. Usser. p. 24.
(r) Dissert. de Ignat. Epist. cap. ii
(s) Photii Bibl. Tmem. cxxvi. p. 305.
(t) De Script. Eccles. in Polycarp.
(u) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 15.
(w) Iren. Epist. ad Florin. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 20.
(x) S. Maximus Prolog. in Dionys. Areop. Suidas in Polycarp. &c, Vid. Usserii Dissert. de Script. Ignat. p. 4, 5. Tentzel. Exerc. Select. de Polycarp. num. xxxvi, xxxvii.

that their authority is but small ; nor can we say that even the pieces which they name, are any where to be found at this day.

14. Nor shall I except here those fragments lately published by Fevardentius(*y*) out of Victor Capuanus, and reprinted by Bishop Usher(*z*) in his appendix to Ignatius ; In which as there are some things which neither Father Halloix,(*a*) nor our learned Usher(*a*) could approve of, as written by St. Polycarp, so the distance of him(*b*) who was the first collector of them from the time of that blessed martyr, and the manifest proofs he has on other occasions given of his little care and judgment in distinguishing the works of the antient Fathers who lived any long time before him ; not to say any thing of the passages themselves ascribed to St. Polycarp,(*c*) but little agreeable to the Apostolical age : all these considerations have justly restrained learned men from giving any great credit to those fragments, or from receiving them as belonging in any wise to so antient an author.

15. But whatever becomes of these fragments, certain it is that the Epistle which I have here subjoined is the genuine work of this holy man, and worthy of that great character which antiquity has given of it. Even Monsieur Daille(*d*) himself confesses, that excepting only the close of it, against which it was necessary for him to declare himself, there is nothing in it that either ought to offend any, or that may be thought unworthy of Polycarp. But Le Moyne(*e*) goes yet farther ; he tells us that he does not see how any one can entertain the least suspicion against it ; that there is not perhaps any work extant that has more

(*y*) Ad lib. iii. c. 3. Irenæi.
(*z*) Lond. 1647. p. 31.
(*a*) Usserius Annot. loc. cit. p. 72, 73.
(*b*) Victor Capuanus *he lived* anno 545.
(*c*) Cave Hist. liter. in Polyc. p. 28. le Moyne Prol. ad Var. Sacr. Tentzel. Exercit. Select. iv. de Polyc. n. xlix. Du Pin. Bibl. Eccl. in Polycarp, &c.
(*d*) De Scriptis Ignatian. cap. xxxii.
(*e*) Prol. ad Var. Sacr. tom. 1. in Polycarp.

certain evidences of its being genuine, than this. In short, that if it shall be lawful to doubt of this, there will be no monument of antiquity left which we may not as well call in question, and reject as spurious.

16. Indeed so general is the reception which learned men(*f*) on all sides have given to this Epistle, that I might well omit any farther discourse in confirmation of the credit and authority of it. But yet seeing there have been two things started by some of late, if not utterly to destroy, yet at least to lessen the reputation of this piece; I will consider, in short, what may fairly be replied to both their exceptions.

17. Now the first is that of Tentzelius,(*g*) in his exercitation upon this Epistle: who, though he allows it to be undoubtedly genuine, yet supposes it to have been corrupted by the same hand that we confess did corrupt the Epistles of Ignatius,(*h*) about six hundred years after Christ. But to this I reply, first, that it is allowed that there is nothing in this Epistle that may give any just grounds for the suspicion of any such fraud as this: it being acknowledged even by Monsieur Daille himself, one of the greatest adversaries of it, to be an Epistle in all respects worthy of St. Polycarp, excepting only in the close of it which I shall more particularly consider by and by. So that either we have this Epistle pure and uncorrupted as it was first written; or at least we have it so little prejudiced by any alterations that may have been made in it, that there is nothing in the Epistle, as it now is, dangerous in point either of faith or manners, or that might not have well enough been written by St. Polycarp. But this was not the case with the Epistles of St. Ignatius,(*i*) which not only laboured under many impertinencies unbecoming the character of that great man, but were fraught with many things that were

(*f*) Vid. apud Tentzel. de Polycarp. Dissert. iv. num. 41. p. 157.
(*g*) Exercit. Select. Exerc. iv. num. 42, &c. 47.
(*h*) Usserius Dissert. de Epist. Ignat. cap. vi. pag. 53.
(*i*) Vid. Dissert. Usser. c. x, xi. p. 63, &c.

altogether fabulous: nay, if we may credit Archbishop Usher,(*k*) had some passages in them that tended to corrupt the very faith of Christ, in one of the most considerable points of it.

18. But secondly, that the Epistles of St. Ignatius had been corrupted, was evident from disagreement of the copies(*l*) which we usually had of them, from the quotations of the antient Fathers of the first five centuries out of them. Now this was a most unquestionable demonstration of their having been changed from what they were in those first ages in which those Fathers lived; and accordingly proved to be so, when the old Latin version of Bishop Usher first, and then the Florentine Greek edition of the learned Isaac Vossius, came to be compared with those editions that had before been extant of them. But neither does this exception appear against the present Epistle, which agrees with what is quoted both by Eusebius(*m*) and others out of it, and thereby clearly shews our present copy to be sincere and uncorrupted.

19. Seeing then there is nothing but a mere conjecture for the depravation of this Epistle, and such just reason to conclude that there is no good foundation for it; to be sure none that may compare with the arguments we have against it: I think we may conclude that for any thing yet appears to the contrary, we not only have the genuine Epistle of St. Polycarp, but that Epistle free from any designed corruptions, or depravations of it.

20. Nor is there any more, that I do not say there is much less weight, in the other supposal of Monsieur Daille,(*n*) continued and abetted by his learned de-

(*k*) Ibid. c. xv. p. 103. This Dr. Grabe has confirmed, proving the interpolator of Ignatius's Epistles to have been an Arian. Spicileg. pp. Sec. ii. pag. 225, 226.

(*l*) Usserius Dissert. Ignat. cap. iii. p. 12.

(*m*) Euseb. hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 36. Photius Bibl. Tmem. cxxvi. p. 305.

(*n*) Vid. Larroque observ. in vind. Pears. p. 65, 66.

fender Monsieur Larroque, though without any other, or greater proof, than what had been before fully answered by our most learned and judicious Bishop Pearson; namely, that this Epistle originally ended at the Doxology which we meet with, chapter the 12th, and that what follows concerning the Epistles of St. Ignatius, has been added to it by some latter hand. But now, what proof do they offer of this? what authority have they to support such a supposition?, this they pretend not to. All they have to say is, that the Doxology which we find there, seems to imply that the Epistle originally went no farther: and that in what follows there is a flat contradiction to what went before; the close of the Epistle speaking of Ignatius, as if he were still alive, whom the true Polycarp had before set forth to the Philippians as having suffered, and been gone to the place that was prepared for him.

21. As for what concerns the latter of these suggestions, I have already shewn how vain and groundless it is. Nor can we reasonably suppose that any one who designed to serve a turn by corrupting such an Epistle as this, would have been either so negligent as not once to read over the piece he was about to make so considerable an addition to; or having read it, would have been so foolish as to have, without any need, subjoined a request to the Philippians, directly contrary to what the true Polycarp had told them before, and which by consequence would be sure to discover the fraud, and frustrate the design of it.

22. So little appearance of reason is there in this suggestion, which yet these learned men insist upon, as their main argument against the latter part of this Epistle. As for the other objection which they bring against it, viz. that St. Polycarp must have concluded at the 12th chapter, because of the vow which he there makes for those to whom he wrote; I reply, first, that this is at the best but a very uncertain

guess; seeing it is notorious to all that have ever read the Epistles, either of the Apostles, or those that followed after, that nothing is more common than to meet with such kind of conclusions, not only in the end, but in the beginning,(o) and middle;(p) in short, in all the parts of their Epistles. To look no farther than the Epistle with which we have begun this collection, of St. Clement to the Corinthians; how many of these sort of stops may we find in the progress of it? I am sure there are not less than seven or eight of them. But I suppose he would be thought very ridiculous, who should therefore reject all that followed the first of these, as none of St. Clements, but pieced on to the end of his Epistle by some other hand, merely because the Doxology seemed to imply his having concluded there.

23. But to lay aside conjectures, and proceed to that which will put a final end to this difficulty; I observe, 2dly, that this passage which these men deny to be St. Polycarp's, and suppose to have been added to it by some latter hand, is expressly quoted by Eusebius(q) in his Ecclesiastical History, as a part of this Epistle. If therefore it be the addition of some other hand, it is evident it was made to it before Eusebius's time, that is to say, within two hundred years after the time of St. Polycarp's writing of it; and whether this be probable we will now more particularly inquire.

24. For the better clearing of which, I must observe, that this Epistle of St. Polycarp, like that of St. Clement, foregoing, was for several hundreds of years wont to be publicly read in the Churches of Asia; so St. Jerome(r) informs us; or as his interpreter Sophronius renders him, in the Synod or Conven-

(o) See 1 Tim. i. 17.
(p) Ephes. iii. 20. Rom. xv. 33. Dr. Hammond Annot. in Rom. xiv. e.
(q) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 36.
(r) Hieron. de Script. in Polycarp.

tion of Asia: by which a learned man(*s*) supposes we are to understand some common meetings of the Christians in those parts, answerable to the like assemblies of the Gentiles there; and that in these, this Epistle was wont to be read to them.

25. Hence Irenæus(*t*) speaks of it as an Epistle that was in every bodies' hand; and obvious to be read by any, for the benefit of their faith and manners. Which being so, it can hardly be supposed but that so inquisitive a searcher into antiquity as Eusebius was, must needs have been very well acquainted with it; and doubtless have had a true and genuine copy of it. Seeing then he produces this passage as a part of that Epistle which was generally received as authentic in his days; and that the Epistle itself being spread into all hands, and publicly read in the Eastern Churches immediately after the death of its great author, could not have been corrupted or altered but the cheat must needs have been discovered; (of which yet we have not the least intimation in all antiquity:) I think it cannot be doubted but that this, as well as the rest of that Epistle, was written by St. Polycarp himself; and not added to his Epistle by some latter hand, as is suggested, not only without all ground, but against such plain and unanswerable evidence to the contrary.

26. Having said thus much in vindication of this Epistle, and to clear it from those prejudices that have of late been raised against it, it remains only for me to observe, that though the following translation was truly made from the Greek and Latin copies of it, set out by Bishop Usher first, and since reprinted by Cotelerius in his collection of the Apostolical Fathers; yet is not this the first time that this Epistle has appeared in our language. For our most diligent and learned countryman, Dr. Cave,(*u*) having a just res-

(*s*) Le Moyne Prolegom. ad var. Sacr.

(*t*) Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 14.

(*u*) Dr. Cave's lives of the Apostolical Fathers, in St. Polycarp.

pect to the worth of a piece so highly applauded among the antients, and so well deserving the esteem of all good men, thought it would be no unuseful digression to present to his reader so venerable a monument of the Primitive Church; and therefore subjoined it entirely to his account of the life of St. Polycarp, in a most accurate English translation of it.

27. It would no doubt have been more to the reader's satisfaction, to have met with that translation of this Epistle here, than to find another, which he may have just reason to suppose can never equal that which was finished by so great a hand. And indeed I could have been glad to have rendered the following collection more considerable, by the reputation of a translation made by so eminent an author. But however, as it now is, I hope it may not be unacceptable to the pious peruser of it, who, whatever other defects he may find in it, may yet, I am pretty confident, depend upon the exactness of the translation; seeing I perceive, by an after collation of it, that it does not differ in any thing that is material, from that of the judicious and worthy Dr. Cave.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE EPISTLES OF ST. IGNATIUS.

Of the different editions of St. Ignatius's Epistles, which are here translated from that of Isaac Vossius, and according to the enumeration made by Eusebius of them. The authority of these Epistles vindicated, against the objections raised of late against them. The Epistle to St. Polycarp, one of those mentioned by Eusebius: the exception against it taken from the substance of the Epistle itself answered. A short account of the following translation of all of them.

1. BEFORE I enter upon that account which I am to give of the Epistles of St. Ignatius (the next that follow in the present collection) it will be necessary

for me to observe, that there have been considerable differences in the editions of the Epistles of this holy man, no less than in the judgment of our latter critics concerning them. To pass by the first, and most imperfect of them; the best that for a long time was extant, contained not only a great number of Epistles falsely ascribed to this author, but even those that were genuine, so altered and corrupted, that it was hard to find out the true Ignatius in them.

2. The first that began to remedy this confusion, and to restore this great writer to his primitive simplicity, was our most reverend and learned Archbishop Usher, in his edition of them at Oxford, Anno 1644. But still we wanted a correct copy of the original Greek. The Epistles set out by him, though exceedingly more sincere than any we had seen before, yet consisting only of the old Latin translations of them. Now this was in a great measure performed by the learned Isaac Vossius, in the edition printed by him at Amsterdam, Anno 1646; in which, from the Florentine manuscript, he published six of the Epistles of this holy martyr mentioned by Eusebius, in their antient and pure Greek; and the seventh so happily amended from the antient Latin version, that there was but little doubt to be made of the integrity of that too. But to remove all scruple concerning this one Epistle, Mr. Ruinart has also published that from a Greek uninterpolated copy,(x) in the acts of the martyrdom of this holy man, set forth by him at Paris, Anno 1689. And concerning these Epistles of St. Ignatius, enumerated by Eusebius, and set out according to their primitive purity by those learned men, whom I have before mentioned, and from them translated into the following collection; there are two things to be considered, and proved by me in this place: first,(y) that St. Ignatius did write such Epis-

(x) Acta martyr. Sincera & Select. Paris, 1689.
(y) Vid. Vossii Præfat. in Ignat. ad Lectorem.

tles as those I have here translated: and secondly, that those Epistles we here have, are the very Epistles which he wrote.

3. That Ignatius did, in general, write such Epistles to the Churches about him, however it has been denied by some, is yet, I think, now universally allowed even by those(z) who are the greatest opposers of these Epistles which we affirm to be his. That he wrote to those *particular Churches* to which the Epistles here subjoined are addressed, we have both St. Polycarp and Eusebius to assure us. For, first, St. Polycarp,(a) in the close of his Epistle, (which I am now to look upon as sufficiently proved to be his) speaking to the Philippians of this holy man, tells them, that he had sent them all such Epistles of his as Ignatius had either written to himself, or to his Church at Smyrna, or as had hitherto come to his hands. So that here then we have a plain account of two of those Epistles which we affirm Ignatius to have written—one to St. Polycarp himself, another to the church of Smyrna, of which he was Bishop.

4. But Eusebius will enable us to carry this testimony yet farther: whilst assuring us, that he wrote four Epistles from Smyrna; namely, to the Churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles and Rome; he gives us just grounds to conclude that these also must have been part of St. Polycarp's collection; and have been some of those others, besides the two before mentioned, which he tells us he sent to the Philippians, unless we should suppose that either he knew not of Ignatius's writing, though every day, almost every hour, with him at the time that he wrote them; or else that knowing of it, he took no care to preserve the copies of his Epistles; which yet we see he put the highest value, that can well be imagined, upon. Seeing therefore we cannot with any reason suppose, either that

(z) Vid. Vindic. Pearson, in Prœm. p. 20.

(a) Polycarp. Epist. num. xiii. Annot. Cotel. in loc. Polycarp. p. 486. B.

St. Polycarp did not know of Ignatius's writing to these Churches; nor is it probable, that being present with him at the writing of them, and acquainted with it, he should not have kept any copies of his letters to them. Seeing, lastly, he himself tells us that he had copies of more of the Epistles of this great Saint, besides those that were sent to Smyrna, and that what he had, he sent to the Philippians; neither can we reasonably doubt but that these also were in his hands, and sent by him to the Church at Philippi.

5. And thus have we, I think upon very good grounds, concluded that six of the seven Epistles, which we affirm to have been written by St. Ignatius, were collected by St. Polycarp; and sent, together with his own Epistle, to the Philippians. Let me add yet farther, that neither can we reasonably question but that the seventh too was at that time in the hands of St. Polycarp; and by consequence, that what we now have is no other collection than what he made (and by that means helped to preserve to after ages) of the Epistles of this holy martyr. Now this I conclude not only from the nearness of the Church of Philadelphia to which it was written, to that of Smyrna, in which St. Polycarp resided; and from the great respect which all the neighbouring Churches payed to him, as a kind of universal Bishop of the whole Lesser Asia; but from the conclusion of the Epistle itself; which tells us that it was sent by Ignatius to the Philadelphians, not only from the same place, and at the same time that he wrote to St. Polycarp himself and to his Church at Smyrna, but also by the same person that carried the other two, and that person St. Polycarp's own Deacon, whom he had sent with Ignatius to Troas, and by whom Ignatius wrote back that Epistle.

6. St. Polycarp, therefore, certainly knew of Ignatius's writing to the Philadelphians; and very probably sent on Burrhus, his Deacon, from Smyrna to Philadelphia, with his letter. And then I think we may

very reasonably conclude, that he brought back with him the copy of it: and that St. Polycarp had that Epistle too in his hands, when he wrote to the Philippians.

7. Such good grounds are there to believe, that the collection we now have of St. Ignatius's Epistles, was no other than what St. Polycarp himself made; and referred to in that passage of his own Epistle to the Philippians, which I have before shewn to be truly his, and not the addition of any latter hand. And the same is the account which Eusebius(*b*) himself has given us of this matter. He tells us that as Ignatius was on his way to Rome, where he was to be cast to the wild beasts, he not only confirmed the Churches that were in the places through which he passed, by his exhortations, but wrote to the chiefest of those others that were near, such Epistles as these of which we are now speaking. And that, as he goes on, in this following order: first, from Smyrna,(*c*) where he tarried some time with his old acquaintance and fellow disciple St. Polycarp, he wrote to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians and Romans: and being gone farther on his way to Troas, he from thence wrote to the Philadelphians, and Smyrnæans; ἰδίως τε τῷ τῶν Σμυρναίων Πολυκάρπῳ, and a particular letter to Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna.

8. I say nothing to the testimony of St. Hierome(*d*) as to this matter, who as he exactly agrees with Eusebius in all this, so I make no question but that he transcribed his account out of him. It is sufficiently evident from what has been already observed, not only that St. Ignatius did in general write some Epistles (which even Monsieur Daille(*e*) himself thinks ought not to be any question) but that he wrote to those particular Churches to which the Epistles we now have are directed, and of which I am persuaded there ought to be as little doubt.

(*b*) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 36. (*c*) Vid. Chrys. Orat. ad Antiochen.
(*d*) Libr. de Script. Illustr. cap. xvi
(*e*) Apud Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. Prolegom. p. 20.

9. As for the other point proposed, and by which the foregoing also will be yet more fully confirmed, namely, that those Epistles we now have are the same that Ignatius wrote: two things there are that seem to determine our belief of it. First, that there is nothing in these Epistles, as we now have them, either unworthy of the spirit of Ignatius, or the character that antiquity has given us of them: nothing disagreeing to the time in which he wrote, or that should seem to speak them to have been the work of any latter author.—Now this, as it hardly ever fails to discover such pieces as are falsely imposed upon *antient authors*; so there not appearing any thing of this kind in these Epistles, inclines us the more readily to conclude, that they were undoubtedly written by him whose they are said to be.

10. But this is only a presumptive argument in favour of these Epistles; which, though it may serve to dispose us the more readily to receive them as true and genuine, yet is it not alone sufficient to prove them so to be? The other argument I have to offer is positive and convincing, namely, that we find these Epistles, as they now are, exactly agreeing both with the descriptions which St. Polycarp(*f*) and Eusebius(*g*) have left us of those which they took to be the authentic Epistles of this holy man; and with the numerous quotations which the *antient fathers*(*h*) have made out of them; and which all occur in the same words, in our present copies of them, that they are cited in their writings.

11. This has been so fully shewn by our most learned Bishop Pearson, and indeed was so manifest of itself to any one that had ever made any comparisons of this kind; that Monsieur Daille(*i*) himself could not deny but that we have the same Epistles now, that

(*f*) Pearson. Vind. Ignat. par. i. cap. 3. pag. 27.
(*g*) Ibid. cap. ii. pag. 8.
(*h*) Pearson. ibid. p. 8. ad 25. Comp. Testim. Cotelerii de Ignat. Et Usser. Dissert. Ignat.
(*i*) Apud Pearson. Vind. Ignat. Proœm. p. 20. Et Vind. par. i. p. 8.

Eusebius, Athanasius, St. Jerome, Theodoret, and Gelasius, had heretofore. So that the only question then to be considered by us is, whether those Epistles which Eusebius, &c. had, were not counterfeit, but the *true* Epistles of this great martyr.

12. And here, first, it is evident, that if those Epistles which Eusebius first, and then the rest of those antient writers whom I before mentioned, took for the genuine Epistles of St. Ignatius, were none of his; the true Epistles which I have just now shewn, and which it is confessed were written by him, must before that time have been utterly lost, or otherwise destroyed, out of the world; it being very improbable that had the true Epistles been still remaining, neither so inquisitive a searcher into antiquity as Eusebius should have heard of them, nor such great and learned men as those that followed after, have had any suspicion of any such deceit. But now whether this be probable, whether it can be supposed that such Epistles as these, directed to so many great and eminent Churches, collected by so venerable man as St. Polycarp, and written by so glorious a martyr as St. Ignatius, should within so little time have been utterly lost out of the Church; I shall leave it to any one who considers how great a reverence the primitive Christians had for every thing that came from the hands of such holy and excellent men, and such glorious martyrs of Christ to determine.

13. We read in the acts of the martyrdom(*k*) of this blessed Saint, with what a mighty care those who went with him to Rome, and were the eye-witnesses of his sufferings, gathered up a few hard bones of his body which the lions had left, and how they brought them back in a kind of triumph to his Church at Antioch. And we are told with what pomp they were many ages after taken up from the place where they were first buried, and carried by the command

(*k*) See his martyrdom, num. xii.

of the younger Theodosius within the city; insomuch, that as our historians(*l*) observe, there was a festival solemnity established upon that occasion, and annually observed to the very time in which they wrote, in remembrance of it. But was the Church then so careful of a few dead bones of such a Saint as this, and did they esteem them as so great a treasure, and yet had they so little regard to his writings, (the last testimonies of his affection to the Churches to which he wrote) as to suffer them within two hundred years to be so utterly lost as not to be once known or heard of, by the greatest and most curious searchers into antiquity? This is, I confess, to me so very improbable, that I could almost as easily believe the Holy Scriptures themselves to have been upon a sudden changed into some other Epistles than what St. Peter or St. Paul wrote, as that such Epistles as these could be so totally defaced, as some pretend, and new ones set out in the room of them, and yet nobody know any thing of the doing of it. But such impossibilities as these must learned men be content to please themselves, and to impose upon others withal, who resolve to be wiser than any that went before them; and to be able to know better at fifteen hundred years distance, what Ignatius wrote, than those did who lived within two centuries of him.

14. For to press our argument yet more closely, since it is allowed that Ignatius did write some Epistles, and I think sufficiently evident that St. Polycarp did make a collection of them, and send them, together with his own, to the Philippians; I presume it will not be questioned but that he most certainly had the genuine writings of that holy martyr, his dear friend and fellow disciple. Now St. Polycarp suffered not according to the earliest computation of our accurate Bishop Pearson(*m*) until the year of our Saviour,

(*l*) Evagrius lib. i. cap. 16. Nicephor. lib. xiv. cap. 44.
(*m*) Pearson Dissert. Chron. ii. cap. xiv. ad. xx.

147, and others(*n*) suppose it to have been yet later. Hitherto therefore it is certain that the true Epistles of Ignatius continued in the Church: it being by no means probable that they should have been changed, whilst the men lived to whom Ignatius wrote; while Polycarp was living who collected them together; and whilst those of the Church of Philippi remained, to whom he sent them.

15. To St. Polycarp, let us add his scholar and admirer, Irenæus, and as himself professes a most diligent collector of whatever fell from that holy man. That he had the Epistles of St. Ignatius, Eusebius(*o*) assures us; who particularly takes notice of his quoting several passages out of them, and mentioneth one of his quotations out of the Epistle to the Romans,(*p*) which is still extant in the works of Irenæus,(*q*) and agrees with the copy published by Monsieur Ruinart; only that this hath ἀρίῳ χριστου whereas it ought to be read ἀρχῇ θεου as appears from the old interpretation both of Irenæus, and of Ignatius's Epistles. Which however is no greater a difference than that of Acts xx. 28, where some copies have Ἐκκλησιαν Θεου others Κυριου others Χριστου not to mention any other places of the New Testament. And it must be allowed that the other passages of which Eusebius(*r*) speaks, were also to have been found in the Epistles as he had them: because otherwise, the difference between what the one quoted, and the other read in his copy of those Epistles, would presently have discovered the fraud, and shewn that his Epistles were not the same with those which Irenæus, mentioned.

16 And this puts the matter yet more out of doubt; for if Eusebius had the same Epistles that Irenæus

(*n*) Usher Anno 169. Euseb. & in eum Vales 167. Petitus 175, &c. *See book 1.*

(*o*) Euseb Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 8.

(*p*) Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 36.

(*q*) Irenæus, lib. v. cap. 28.

(*r*) Comp. Euseb. loc. cit. with the Epistle to the Romans, and other Epistles here translated.

had, we must allow one of these two things; either that he had a genuine copy of them, as we affirm; or that Irenæus, the disciple and contemporary of St. Polycarp had not; which would be very unreasonable to suppose.

17. For not to say any thing as to this matter, that Irenæus lived too near the time both in which Ignatius wrote, and St. Polycarp collected his Epistles, to have been imposed upon in this particular: seeing he himself tells us how careful he was to gather up whatever came from the hand of that holy man, and that he not only had the Epistles of Ignatius, as appears by his citing of them; but, as himself declares,(*s*) had also the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, at the end of which the Epistles of Ignatius were subjoined: what can we conclude, but that the copy he had of both was taken from that of his master Polycarp; which being to be sure, authentic, it must remain that Irenæus's was so too?

18. Were it needful to add any thing yet farther to shew that Eusebius, who is confessed to have had the same copy of St. Ignatius that we have now, had no other than that of St. Polycarp so often mentioned; I might to the testimony of Irenæus, before alleged, add that of Origen,(*t*) who began to live some time before the other died; for this Father has not only spoken of these Epistles, but has left us two quotations out of them; and both to be found in our copies which we affirm to be true and authentic. Now from him to Eusebius, was not above half a century; too little a while for so great an alteration to have been made in writings spread up and down into so many hands; read by all the learned and pious men of those days; and upon all these accounts utterly incapable of such a change, as is without the authority of one single writer, only upon, I know not

(*s*) Apud Euseb. Epist. ad Florin. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 20.
(*t*) Orig. Homil. vi. in Luc. Et. in Cantic. Proleg.

what conjectures, supposed to have been made in them.

19. But I enlarge myself too much in so plain a matter; and which I should hardly have thought worth the examining thus distinctly, had it not engaged the pens of so many learned men of the reformed religion, that it might have seemed too great an omission in such a discourse as this, not to have given some account of it. As for what we find a late learned writer(*u*) advancing in opposition to the authority of these Epistles, that our copies though exceedingly more perfect than any that were ever extant before those great men Bishop Usher and Isaac Vossius set out, the one the old Latin versions, the other, the original Greek, from the manuscript which he found of it in the Florentine library: yet there may be reason still to suspect that they are not so free from all corruptions as were to be wished: I reply, that if he means that the same has happened to these Epistles as has done to all other antient writings, that letters, or words, have been mistaken, and perhaps even the pieces of some sentences corrupted, either by the carelessness or ignorance of the transcribers; I see no reason why we should deny that to have befallen these Epistles, which has been the misfortue of all other pieces of the like antiquity. This, therefore, it has been often declared,(*x*) that neither do we contend about; nor can any one, who reads the best copies we have of them with any care or judgment, make any doubt of it. But as for any larger interpolations, such as were those of the copies before extant; for any changes or mistakes that may call in question either the credit or authority of these Epistles as we now have them;(*y*) we utterly deny that there are any such in these last editions of them; nor has that learn-

(*u*) Ernest. Tentzel. Exercit. select. iii. num. 11, 12. pag. 67.
(*x*) Vossii Annot. passim. Pearson. Vind. Ignat. Proleg. p. 20.
(*y*) See the objections of Tentzelius fully answered by the learned Dr. Grabe. Spicileg. Sec. ii. pag. 227, &c.

ed man offered any thing to induce us to believe that there are.

20. And here I should have concluded these reflections, but that there is yet one thing more to be taken notice of, which must by no means be passed by—namely, that our most learned Archbishop Usher(z) himself, though he agrees with us as to the authority of the other six Epistles here translated, yet doubts whether the seventh, written to St. Polycarp, be genuine or no. Nor does Isaac Vossius(a) himself deny but that there are some things in it that may seem to render it suspicious; though more to prove it to be authentic. For, first, St. Polycarp(b) expressly assures us that Ignatius had written to him; so both Eusebius(c) and St. Hierome(d) teach us to understand his expression. They mention the Epistle to Polycarp, as distinct from that to the Church of Smyrna: and secondly, the antient Fathers(e) quote it as Ignatius's no less than the rest. From both which it seems to be very plain, that this also has the same evidence of being written by Ignatius that any of the rest have; and therefore that he who allows it as sufficient for the one ought not to refuse it for the other.

21. As for that which seems to be the most difficult to account for in it, namely, his writing in the *plural number*, and giving several instructions about the behaviour of the common people, particularly that, *to adhere to the Bishop*, chap v. and vi. it is rightly observed by Vossius in his annotations on those chapters, that Ignatius in that place speaks not to St. Polycarp; but, by a usual change of person, intimates what he would have Polycarp say to his Church: and whosoever shall consider in what manner he brings in what he there delivers; *say to my sisters*, &c. And again,

(z) Dissert. de Ignat. cap. iii.
(a) Annot. in Ignat. Epist. pag. 264, 265.
(b) Polycarp. Epist. num. xiii. (c) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 36.
(d) Hieronym. de Viris Illustr. in Ignat.
(e) Vid. Isaac. Voss. Annot. loc. supr. cit.

exhort my brethren, &c.—will presently see how those instructions are to be understood.

22. And now it remains only that I give some short account of the following translation of these Epistles. The copies from which I did it were those of Isaac Vossius, and Bishop Usher; comparing both as I had occasion with the late edition of Cotelerius. In the salutation of the Epistle to the Romans I have departed from all of them, and followed the correction of that judicious man, whose name I mention in a note to it. I thought myself the more at liberty to do this, because that this Epistle was not found in the Florentine manuscript; but made up, in some measure, from the Latin versions, by the conjectures of learned men: and however it has since been published, together with the acts of the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, in its original Greek, yet I have rather chosen to note the differences between that and the copy I before followed, than to give a preference to either. And the reader will have this advantage by it, that he will here see both; and may make use of his own judgment, if at any time the copies disagree, to inform him which he thinks to be the most correct For the rest, I have kept as strictly to the text of Vossius, as the sense would permit me to do: only where a place was manifestly imperfect I have sometimes taken the liberty to express my own conjectures, though differing from those of others, with whom nevertheless I pretend not to compare myself. But then I seldom do this without taking notice of it, and telling my reader to whom he may recur for somewhat a different opinion. If after all there shall appear some faults in my translation; though I may modestly say I have taken what care my little acquaintance in these matters would enable me to do, to avoid them; I desire it may be considered, that I had a difficult author to deal with; and I shall be very ready thankfully to amend any error, that any more discerning person shall think fit to advertise me of, if ever this collection should be thought worthy to come to another edition.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. IGNATIUS; AND OF THE FOLLOWING RELATION OF IT, WRITTEN BY THOSE WHO WERE PRESENT AT HIS SUFFERINGS.

Of the Life of St. Ignatius; whence he was called Theophorus? That he never saw Christ; but was converted to Christianity by the Apostles; and by them made Bishop of Antioch. How he behaved himself in that station. Of his death. Why he was sent from Antioch to Rome, in order to his suffering there. Metaphrastes account of the effect which his death wrought upon the Emperor Trajan, rejected. How the persecution of the Christians came to be mitigated about the time he suffered. An inquiry into the time of his martyrdom.

1. IN the foregoing chapter I have given such an account of the Epistles of St. Ignatius, as seemed necessary to vindicate the authority of them, and to remove those prejudices which some had of late endeavoured to raise against them. I am now to pass from the writings of this holy man, to his truly great and heroical sufferings: an account whereof is in the next place subjoined, in the relation of those who accompanied him from Antioch to Rome, and were there the eye-witnesses of his martyrdom.

2. But before I come to the consideration of this last and noblest part of his life, I cannot but think it will be expected from me to give some account of the foregoing passages of it: that so we may have at once a full view of this great Saint, and perceive by what steps he prepared himself for so constant and glorious a death.

3. And here it will be necessary for me in the first place to consider the character which he gives of himself in the beginning of all his Epistles, and which he freely asserted before the Emperor(*h*) himself at his examination, namely, that of Theophorus. Now this, according to the different pronunciation of it, may be expounded after a different manner, and signifies ei-

(*h*) Acts of Ignatius, numb. iv, v.

ther a *person carried by God*, or else a *divine person*, one who *carries God in his breast*. And in both these significations we find this name to have been given to this holy man.

4. For 1st. as to the former signification, we are told by some of the writers of his life, that St. Ignatius, was the child whom our blessed Saviour took in his arms, and set before his disciples as a pattern of humility, when he told them, "that unless they should be converted, and become as little children, they should in no wise enter into the kingdom of God:" and that from thence he took the name of Theophorus; one who was born, or carried by God. And thus not only Metaphrastes(*i*) and Nicephorus(*k*) among the Greeks; but as our learned Bishop Usher(*l*) tells us, some Syriac writers more antient than they, both interpret this name, and give an account of its being attributed to this blessed martyr.

5. But as stories of this kind seldom lose in the relation, so we find the Latines(*m*) making a farther improvement of the present fable. For having confirmed the truth of what these men had before observed, of St. Ignatius's being taken up by our Saviour into his arms, they add, that for this reason, the Apostles, when they made him Bishop of Antioch, durst not lay their hands upon him, "he having been before both commended by our Saviour Christ, and sanctified by his touching of him."

6. There is so much of romance in all the latter part of this story, and so little grounds for the former, that I shall not need to spend any time in the confuting of either. It is enough that St. Chrysostome(*n*) has assured us, that this holy man never saw the Lord, and that all the other antient writers are silent

(*i*) Metaphrast. apud Coteler. p. 991.
(*k*) Niceph. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 35.
(*l*) Usher. Annot. in Act. Mart. Ignat. num. iv.
(*m*) Vid. Annot. in Concil. Oecum. viii. Concil. Lab. tom. viii. p. 994. D.
(*n*) Homil. in St. Ignat. to. 1. Fevardent. p. 499, 506. B. C.

as to this particular. Which makes me the rather wonder at the endeavor of a late learned writer(*o*) of our own country, to give countenance to such a fable; which if not destitute of all probability, yet at least wants any good authority to support it; and as our learned Bishop Pearson(*p*) very reasonably conjectures, was first started about the time of the 8th General Council, by the party of that Ignatius who was then set up in opposition to Photius; and from thence derived both to Anastatius among the Latines, and to Metaphrastes among the Greeks.

7. To pass then from this fabulous account of this title, let us come to the consideration of the true import of it. Now for that as we cannot have any better, so neither need we desire any other account than what this holy man(*q*) himself gave the Emperor of that name. When being asked by him, who was Theophorus? he replied, he who has Christ in his breast. And in this sense was this name commonly used among the antients, as has been shewn in a multitude of examples by Bishop Pearson,(*r*) in his elaborate vindication of Ignatius's Epistles. I shall offer only one of them, that of St. Cyrill, who anathematizes those who should call our Saviour Christ, Theophorus; lest, says he, he should thereby be understood to have been no other than one of the Saints.

8. It remains then that Ignatius was called Theophorus, for the same reason that any other divine, or excellent person, might have been so called; namely, upon the account of his admirable piety: because his soul was full of the love of God, and sanctified with an extraordinary portion of the Divine Grace; as both his life shewed, and the earnest desire he had to be dissolved and to be with Christ, and his joy when he saw himself approaching towards it; and (to men-

(*o*) Montac. Origin. Eccles. to. ii. p. 211, 212.
(*p*) Vind. Ignat. Part. ii. c. xii. p. 149.
(*q*) Acts of Ignat. num. v.
(*r*) Vind. Ignat. Part. ii. p. 144.

tion no more) his constancy in his last, and most terrible conflict with the wild beasts, will not suffer us to doubt.

9. But though the story of our Saviour's taking St. Ignatius into his his arms be of no credit, yet so much St. Chrysostome tells us,(*s*) that he was intimately acquainted with the holy Apostles, and instructed by them in the full knowledge of all the mysteries of the Gospel. What was the country that gave birth to this blessed Saint, or who his parents were, we cannot tell. Indeed as to the former of these, his country, a late author(*t*) has endeavoured from a passage in Abulfaragius, set out by our incomparable Dr. Pocock, to fix it at Nora in Sardinia, a place which still retains its antient name with very little variation. This is certain, that growing eminent both in the knowledge of the doctrine of Christ, and in a life exactly framed according to the strictest rules of it; he was upon the death of Euodius, chosen by the Apostles that were still living, to be Bishop of Antioch, the metropolis of Syria; and whatever Anastasius pretends(*u*) received imposition of hands from them.

10. How he behaved himself in this great station, though we have no particular account left to us, yet we may easily conclude from that short hint that is given us of it, in the relation of his martyrdom.(*x*) Where we are told that he was "a man in all things like unto the Apostles; that as a good governor, by the helm of prayer and fasting, by the constancy of his doctrine and spiritual labour, he opposed himself to the floods of the adversary: that he was like a divine lamp illuminating the hearts of the faithful by his exposition of the holy Scriptures; and lastly, that

(*s*) Homil. in Ignat. pag. 499. to. i. Fevardent.

(*t*) Ernest. Tentzel. Exercit. Select. iii. num. ii. p. 47. Comp. Dr. Grabe Spicileg. tom. ii. p. 1.

(*u*) Vid. Chrysost. Orat. in Laud. Ignat. Theodoret. to. iv. p. 33. Dial. 1. Comp. Usser. Annot. in Epist. ad Antioch. p. 107. Pearson. Vind. Ignat. part. ii. p. 107.

(*x*) Acts of Ignat. num. i, ii, iii.

to preserve his church, he doubted not freely, and of his own accord, to expose himself to the most bitter death." This is in general the character of his behaviour in his Church of Antioch; a greater than which can hardly be given to any man. Nor indeed can we doubt but that he who, as Eusebius(*y*) tells us, and as his Epistles still remaining, abundantly testify, was so careful of all the other Churches, to confirm them in a sound faith, and in a constant adherence to their holy religion; was certainly much more vigilant to promote the interests of piety within his own diocese, which was blessed with his government above forty years.(*z*)

11. Hence we may observe, what a tender concern he expresses in all his Epistles for his Church at Antioch: with what affection he recommends it to the prayers of those to whom he wrote; and especially to the care of his dear friend and fellow disciple, St. Polycarp. And when he heard at Troas of the ceasing of the persecution there, how did he rejoice at it? and require all the neighbouring Churches(*a*) to rejoice with him; and to send their messengers and letters thither, to congratulate with them upon that account?

12. Such was his affection towards his own Church, and his care of all the others round about him: by both of which he became in such an extraordinary favour with them, that they thought nothing could be sufficient to express their respect towards him. And therefore we are told, that when he was carried from Antioch to Rome, in order to his suffering, all the Churches every where, sent messengers(*b*) on the way to attend him, and to communicate to his wants. And what is yet more, they were generally their Bishops

(*y*) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 36.

(*z*) Eusch. Chron. ab anno 69 ad 110. alii ad 116. Vid. infr.

(*a*) See his Epistles to the Philadelph. Smyrn. and to St. Polycarp.

(*b*) Vid. Ignat. Epist. & speciatim ad Rom. num. ix. Add. Act. Ignat. num. ix.

themselves that came to meet him, and thought it a singular happiness to receive some spiritual exhortations from him. And when he was dead, they paid such an honour to his memory, as to account the few bones(*c*) that were left of him by the wild beasts, more precious than the richest jewels: insomuch that we are told they were several ages(*d*) after taken up from the place where they were first deposited, as not honourable enough for them to lie in; and that being brought within the city where he once was Bishop, there was instituted a yearly festival in memory of him.

13. As for what concerns the circumstances of his death, they are so particularly recounted in the relation I have here subjoined of it, that nothing more needs to be added, to what is there delivered of this matter. Yet one remark I cannot but make on that particular of his story which has puzzled so many learned men(*e*) to account for, but may easily be resolved, and I believe most truly too, into the overruling hand of the Divine Providence: and that is, of the sending of this holy man from Antioch as far as Rome to suffer. For whatever the design of the Emperor(*f*) may have been in it; whether he intended to increase his sufferings by a journey so wearisome, and attended with so many bitter circumstances, as that must needs have been to a person, very probably at that time, fourscore years of age: or whether he hoped by this means to have overcome his constancy, and to have drawn him away from his faith: or lastly, whether, as Metaphrastes(*g*) tells us, upon his consulting with those of the Senate who were with him, he was advised "not to let him suffer at Antioch, lest thereby he should raise his esteem the

(*c*) Vid. Act. Ignat. num. xiii.
(*d*) Vid. Usserii Ann. in Act. Ignat. num. 37.
(*e*) Vid. Scalig. in Euseb. ad Ann. 110.
(*f*) Vid. Usser. Not. in Act. Ignat. num. ix. p. 39, 40. Tentzel. Exerc. iii. p. 49.
(*g*) Mart. apud Coteler.

more among the people, and render him still more dear and desirable to them:" we cannot doubt, but that God hereby designed to present to all the nations through which he was to pass, a glorious instance of the power of his religion, that could enable this blessed martyr with so much constancy to despise all the violence of his enemies; and to be impatient after those trials which they hoped should have affrighted him into a base and degenerous compliance with their desires.

14. This was indeed a triumph worthy of the Christian religion: Nor was it any small advantage to the Churches at such a critical time, to have their zeal awakened, and their courage confirmed, both by the example and exhortations of this great man, from Antioch even to Rome itself. And we are accordingly told with what mighty comfort and satisfaction they received his instructions; and as the authors(*h*) of his acts express it, *rejoiced to partake in his spiritual gift.*

15. Nay, but if we may believe Metaphrastes as to the effect which the sufferings of this holy man had upon the mind of the Emperor, the Church received yet greater benefit by his death. "For Trajan,(*i*) says he, hearing of what had been done to Ignatius, and how undauntedly he had undergone the sentence that was pronounced against him, and being informed that the Christians were a sort of men that did nothing contrary to the laws, nor were guilty of any impieties, but worshipped Christ as the Son of God, and exercised all temperance both in meat and drink, nor meddled with any thing that was forbidden: he began to repent of what he had done, and commanded that the Christians should indeed be searched out, but that being discovered they should not be put to death; only they should not be admitted into any offices, nor be suffered to meddle with any public employs. Thus was not only the life of Ignatius of great use to the Church, but his very death the means of procuring

(*h*) Acts of Ignat. num. ix. (*i*) Mart.Ignat.apud Coteler. p. 1002.

much good to it." And what Metaphrastes here tells us, we find in effect delivered by another author(*k*) of his acts not yet set forth; from whom he seems to have taken his story, only with the addition of some farther circumstances of his own, to make it the more complete.

16. But though I should be far from envying any thing that might make for the honour of this blessed martyr; yet are there many circumstances in the story which Metaphrastes has here put together, that make me justly call in question the truth of it. For first, it is evident beyond all doubt, that the persecution was abated at Antioch before Ignatius suffered, nay before he was yet gone out of the Lesser Asia. Insomuch that in his three last Epistles which he wrote from Troas, to the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp himself, he particularly takes notice of the peace of the Church of Antioch, and exhorts them to send congratulatory messages thither upon the account of it.

17. Nor was this suspension of the persecution granted upon Ignatius's account, but upon the remonstrances which the emperor's own officers made to him, both of the numbers of those that died for the Christian faith, and of the innocency of their lives; and lastly, of the readiness with which they not only suffered when taken, but voluntarily came and presented themselves before those who were to condemn them. Two of these Epistles relating to this very persecution we have still remaining—the one written by Tiberianus,(*l*) President of Palæstina prima—the other of Pliny(*m*) the younger, Pro-Prætor of Bithynia. And the answer of Trajan(*n*) to the latter of which we find to have been in the same words that Jo. Malela tells us he replied to the other, viz. "That the Christians should not be sought after; but if they were

(*k*) Vid. Usser. Annot. in Act. Ignat. p. 55, 56.

(*l*) Apud Usser. Annot. in Epist. ad Philadelph. Not. 82. Et in Append. p. 9.

(*m*) Plin. Secund. Epist. lib. x. Epist. 97. (*n*) Ibid. Epist. 98.

brought before them and convicted, should be punished unless they abjured."

18. The same is the account which not only Eusebius,(*o*) from Tertullian,(*p*) gives us of the Emperor's order as to this matter; but which Suidas,(*q*) after both, has left us of it. Which makes it the more strange to find such a different relation both in Bishop Usher's manuscript author, and in Metaphraste's acts of Ignatius before mentioned. It is true that notwithstanding these rescripts of the Emperor, the persecution still continued; nor was it so soon over in other places as it was at Antioch. This is not only evident from the history of this time left us by Eusebius,(*r*) but may in general be concluded from the prayer(*s*) which this holy Saint made at his martyrdom: where, say our acts, "He intreated the Son of God in behalf of the Churches, that he would put a stop to the persecution, and restore peace and quiet to them." But these were only local persecutions, as Eusebius(*t*) calls them; and proceeded rather from the fury of the people, and the perverseness of some particular Governors, than from the design or command of the Emperor.

19. As for the time of Ignatius's suffering, we are only told in his acts that it was when Syria (or Sura) and Senecius were Consuls; nor are learned men yet agreed in what year to fix it. Eusebius, in his Chronicle, places it in the year of Christ 110. Marianus Scotus 112. Bishop Usher(*x*) yet sooner in the year 107. And lastly, to name no more, our most exact Bishop Lloyd,(*y*) followed therein by the late critic upon Baronius, Antonius Pagi, yet later than any, to wit, in the year that the great earthquake fell out at Antioch, and from which Trajan himself hardly es-

(*o*) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 33. (*p*) Apologet. cap. ii.
(*q*) In voce.—Τραϊανός.
(*r*) Lib. iii. c. 32. Hist. Eccles.
(*s*) Acta Mart. Ignat. num. xii. (*t*) Euseb. ibid.
(*x*) Annot. in Act. Martyr. Ignat. not. 39.
(*y*) Vid. Ant. Pagi Critic in Baron. ad Ann. 108.

caped: which, as Jo. Malela(z) accounts it, and is followed therein by Bishop Usher in his computation, was in the year 116.

20. And this may suffice to have been observed concerning the most eminent passages that occur in the acts of the martyrdom of St. Ignatius. I shall need say nothing to the authority of the relation itself—which as it is written with all sincerity, and void of those additions which latter writers have made to these kind of histories, so we are told in the close of it, that it was compiled by those who went with him from Antioch, and were the eye-witnesses of his encounters. That the latter part of these acts was added to the original account of the martyrdom of this holy man, the learned Dr. Grabe has proved to be at least probable. But this does not at all affect the other parts of them; which the same judicious writer receives as true and authentic. These acts were first published from two very antient manuscripts by our most reverend Archbishop Usher, in the appendix to his edition of Ignatius, anno 1647. They have since been printed in their original Greek by a very learned man abroad, and reprinted by Dr. Grabe in his Spicilegium here in England. From this last edition they are now translated into our own language. I cannot tell whether it be worth the observing, that in the collection made by the late learned Cotelerius of the writings of the Apostolical Fathers, instead of these genuine acts there is inserted the account which Metaphrastes put together of his sufferings, several ages after. It would perhaps have made a more agreeable history to the vulgar reader, had I translated that relation, rather than this, which is much shorter, and wants many notable passages that are to be found in that order. But as I should then have departed from my design of setting out nothing but what I thought to be indeed of Apostolical antiquity; so to those who love the naked truth,

(z) Apud Usser. loc. supr. cit. Comp. the Dissert. of Bp. Pearson in the late edit. of his Epistles at Oxford.

these plain acts will be much more satisfactory than a relation filled up with the uncertain, and too often fabulous circumstances, of latter ages.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. POLYCARP, AND OF THE EPISTLE WRITTEN BY THE CHURCH OF SMYRNA CONCERNING IT.

That there were heretofore several called by the name of Polycarp. Both the country and parentage of St. Polycarp uncertain. What he was before his conversion; and by whom converted. He is made Bishop of Smyrna by the Apostles. How he behaved himself in that office. The great veneration which the Christians had for him. Of his journey to Rome, and what he did there. The testimony of St. John concerning him—Rev. ii. 8. Of the time of St. Polycarp's martyrdom. What persecutions the Church then laboured under. Of the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna concerning his sufferings; and the value which the antients put upon it. Of the miracle that is said to have happened at his death. What his age was when he suffered. What the day of his suffering. In what place he was put to death. Of the authority of the present Epistle, and its translation into our own language.

1. THE Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, (the next piece that follows in the present collection) however it makes mention of some others that suffered, at the same time with St. Polycarp, for the faith of Christ; yet insisting chiefly upon the particulars of his passion, and being designed by that Church to communicate to all the world the glorious end of their beloved Bishop, and most worthy and constant martyr of Christ: I shall observe the same method in treating of this, that I did in discoursing of the acts of St. Ignatius before; and speak somewhat of the life of St. Polycarp first, before I come to consider the account that is here given us of his death.

2. That there were several of the name of Polycarp heretofore, and who must therefore carefully be distinguished from him of whom we are now to discourse, has been evidently shewn by the late learned editor(*a*)

(*a*) Le Moyne Prol. ad Var. Sacr.

of his Epistle. As for our Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, and the great subject of the present martyrology; we have little account, either what was his country, or who his parents. In general we are told that he was born somewhere in the East; as Le Moyne(*b*) thinks not far from Antioch; and perhaps in Smyrna itself, says our learned Dr. Cave.(*c*) Being sold in his childhood, he was bought by a certain noble matron whose name was Calisto; and bred up by her, and at her death made heir to all her estate; which though very considerable, he soon spent in works of charity and mercy (*d*)

3. His Christianity he received in his younger years from Bucolus Bishop of Smyrna; by whom being made Deacon(*e*) and Catechist of that Church, and discharging those offices with great approbation, he was, upon the death of Bucolus made Bishop of Smyrna by the Apostles;(*f*) and particularly by St. John(*g*) whose disciple, together with Ignatius, he had before been.

4. How considerable a reputation he gained by his wise administration of this great office, we may in some measure conclude from that character which his very enemies gave of him at his death; when crying out that he should be *thrown to the Lions*, they laid this to him as his crime, but which was indeed his chiefest honour;(*h*) this say they, is the Doctor of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the overthrower of our Gods: and when he was burnt, they persuaded the Governor not to suffer his friends to carry away any of his remains,(*i*) lest, say they, the Christians forsaking him that was crucified, should begin to worship Polycarp.

(*b*) Le Moyne Prol. ad. Var. Sacr.
(*c*) Life of St. Polycarp, p. 112. So the Roman Martyrology.
(*d*) Le Moyne, Cave, &c. (*e*) Ibid.
(*f*) Irenæus lib. iii. cap. 3. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 14. Vid. Teutzel. Exerc. select. de Polyc. iii. § 5.
(*g*) Tertul. de Præscr. Hæret. c. 32. Hieron. de Script. in Polyc. Vid. Martyrol. Rom. Jan. xxvi.
(*h*) Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, num. xii.
(*i*) Ibid. num. xvii.

5. Nor was it any small testimony of the respect which was paid to him, that (as we are told in this Epistle) the Christians would not suffer him to pull off his own clothes, but strove who should be the most forward to do him service; thinking themselves happy if they could but come to touch his flesh. For, says the Epistle, he was truly adorned with such a good conversation, as made all men pay a more than ordinary respect to him.

6. Hence St. Hieroime(*k*) calls him the prince of all Asia; Sephronius, the Ἀρχηνός, or chief ruler; perhaps, says a learned man,(*l*) in opposition to the Asiarchæ of the Heathen spoken of in this Epistle: signifying thereby, that as they were among the Gentiles, the heads of their sacred rites, and presided in the common assemblies and spectacles of Asia; so was Polycarp among the Christians a kind of universal Bishop, or Primate; the prince and head of the Churches in those parts.

7. Nor was his care of the Church confined within the bounds of the Lesser Asia, but extended even unto Rome itself,(*m*) whither we are told he went upon the occasion of the *Quartodeciman Controversie*, then on foot between the Eastern and Western Churches, and which he hoped to have put a stop to, by his timely interposition with those of Rome. But though Anicetus and he could not agree upon that point, each alleging Apostolical tradition to warrant them in their practice: yet that did not hinder but that he was received with all possible respect there; and officiated in their Churches(*n*) in presence of the Bishop, and communicated with him in the most sacred mysteries of religion.(*o*)

8. While he was at Rome, he remitted nothing of

(*k*) De Script. in Polycarp. Sophron. Interp. Græc.
(*l*) Lemoyne Prol. ad Var. Sacr.
(*m*) Euseb Hist. Eccles. lib. iv, cap. 14.
(*n*) Vid. Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 14. Tentzel. Exercit. de Polycarp. §. ix
(*o*) Le Moyne Prolegom. ad Var, Sacr.

his concern for the interests of the Church; but employed his time partly in confirming those who were sound in the faith, but especially in drawing over those who were not, from their errors. In which work how successful he was, his own scholar Irenæus(*p*) particularly recounts to us.

9. What he did after his return, and how he discharged his pastoral office to the time of his martyrdom, we have little farther account; nor shall I trouble myself with the stories which Pionius(*q*) without any good grounds has recorded of the life of this holy man. But that he still continued with all diligence to watch over the flock of Christ, we have all the reason in the world to believe: and that not only from what has been already observed, but from one particular more which ought not to be omitted, namely, that when Ignatius was hurried away from his Church of Antioch to his martyrdom, he knew none so proper to commend the care of it to, as to this excellent man;(*r*) or to supply by his own letters, what the other had not time to write, to all the other Churches round about.

10. But I shall close up this part of the life of this holy Saint, with the testimony which St. John has given to him, *Revel.* ii. 8. And which as it affords us a sufficient evidence of the excellency of his life, so does it open the way to what we are next to consider, viz. his death and passion, "Unto the Angel of the Church in Smyrna, write: these things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive. I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty (but thou art rich:) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the Synagogue of Satan. Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer; behold the Devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

(*p*) Apud Euseb. loc. cit.
(*q*) Apud. Tentzel Exercit. Select. iv. p. 76, &c
(*r*) See his Epistle to Polycarp n. viii.

11. And this brings me to that which I am chiefly to insist upon, namely, the death of this blessed martyr; the subject of that Epistle which is subjoined from the Church of Smyrna concerning it. And here I shall in the first place take for granted, what our learned Bishop Pearson(*s*) seems to have proved beyond contradiction; that St. Polycarp suffered, not as is commonly supposed(*t*) about the year of Christ 167—or as Bishop Usher(*u*) has stated it yet later 159—much less as Petit(*x*) still later 175—but under the Emperor Antonius Pius, in the year of our Lord 147. Now that the Christians about that time, and especially those of Asia, lay under some severe prosecutions, is evident from the apology which Justin Martyr about this very time presented to the Emperor in order to a mitigation of them: which however Baronius,(*y*) and after him Valesius,(*z*) place two or three years later; yet hath their opinion no certain grounds; nor does any thing hinder us from reducing that apology(*a*) to the same time with St. Polycarp's martyrdom; nay, and some have carried it still higher, even to the beginning of that Emperor's reign, as both Eusebius(*b*) among the antients, and his learned editor, Scaliger,(*c*) not to mention any others,(*d*) of latter times, have done.

12. What the effect of this apology was we cannot certainly tell; but that the persecution was not presently put to an end, not only the second apology of the same Father (however the critics differ about the same;) but that which Eusebius(*e*) tells us was after-

(*s*) Dissert. Chron. part. ii. a cap. 14, ad 20. (*t*) Euseb Chron.
(*u*) Not in Epist. Smyrn. 104, 105. Comp. Tentz. Exercit. de Polycarp. §. xxi.
(*x*) Vid. Cave Hist. Eccles. in Polycarp.
(*y*) Ad An. 150 Comp. Spond. Epitom. ibid.
(*z*) Annot. in Euseb. lib. iv. c. 8.
(*a*) See Dr. Grabe's Disser. de Justin. M. Spicileg. pp. Sec. ii. pag. 150, &c.
(*b*) Euseb. Chron. ann. 142. (*c*) Scalig. Annot. in Euseb, p. 210
(*d*) Perav. in Epiphan. Haeres. xlvi. Anton. Pagi in Baron, ad ann. 150. num. 3. Herman. Contract. Marian. Scot. &c.
(*e*) Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 26.

wards presented to his successor Marcus Aurelius by Melito(*e*) Bishop of Sardis, plainly makes appear. In which he complains, that "the Christians were still informed against by wicked men, greedy of what they had; and prosecuted notwithstanding the several orders that his father had given, and the letters he had himself written to the contrary." It is true, Eusebius tells us that the Emperor Antonius Pius(*f*) had set out an effectual edict in favour of the Christians; and that particularly addressed to the Common Council of Asia, not long before the time in which we suppose St. Polycarp to have suffered. And this seems to leave it under some doubt how a persecution could have been again revived against the Church within so short a time, and after such a vigorous edict of an Emperor still living to the contrary. But it is evident Eusebius must have mistook the Emperor, and have set down that for the rescript of Antonius Pius, which was indeed set out by Marcus Aurelius immediately after his death, as both the inscription shews, and Valesius(*g*) and others have evidently made it appear to be.

13. It was then in one of these topical persecutions,(*h*) so frequent in the Lesser Asia; that the storm happening to fall in a particular manner upon the Church of Smyrna, carried off this holy martyr among the rest. What the particular circumstances of his passion were, it would be impertinent for me to relate in this place, seeing they are so fully and exactly described in the Epistle of which we are now discoursing. A piece so excellently composed, that Eusebius thought it worthy to be almost entirely transcribed into his Ecclesiastical History. And of which a very great man(*i*) of the last age professed, "That he knew not any thing in all ecclesiastical antiquity, that was more wont to affect his mind; insomuch that he seemed to be no lon-

(*f*) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 13.
(*g*) Vales. in lib. iv. c. 13. Euseb. & infra, in c. 26. p. 75. Add. Ant. Pagi Critic. in Baron. ad ann. 154 num. iv.
(*h*) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 15. p. 104.
(*i*) Scalig. Animadv. in Euseb. pag. 221. num. 2183.

ger himself when he read it: and believed that no good Christian could be satisfied with reading often enough this, and the like accounts, of the sufferings of those blessed martyrs, who in the primitive times laid down their lives for the faith."

14. Nor did the antients put any less value upon this piece, which as Gregory(*k*) of Tours tells us was even to his time read publicly in the Gallican Churches, and no doubt made a part of that annual remembrance, which the Churches of Asia kept of his martyrdom.

15. But though I think it needless to mention here any thing of what the following Epistle relates concerning the passion of this holy man; yet one circumstance there is which both Eusebius(*l*) and Ruffinus(*l*) having omitted, is also passed by in the following translation, though found in the acts as set out from the Barroccian manuscript by Archbishop Usher. And that is this: that the soldier or officer having struck his launce into the side of the Saint, there came forth a pigeon, together with a great quantity of blood, as is expressed in the following Epistle, num. xvi. Now though there may seem to have been something of a foundation for such a miracle in the raillery of Lucian,(*n*) upon the death of Peregrinus the philosopher, who burnt himself about the same time that St. Polycarp suffered, and from whose funeral pile he makes a vulture to ascend, in opposition, it may be, to St. Polycarp's pigeon; if indeed he designed (as a learned man(*o*) has conjectured) under the story of that philosopher, to ridicule the life and sufferings of Polycarp: yet I confess I am so little a friend to such kind of miracles, that I thought it better with Eusebius to omit that circumstance, than to mention it from Bishop Usher's manuscript. And indeed besides the strange-

(*k*) De Glor. Mart. cap. lxxxvi.

(*l*) Vid. Usser. Annot. in Act. Polyc. num. 77.

(*n*) De Morte Peregrini, p. 1006. Aurel. Prudent. reports the same of Eulalia; but he made his pigeon to flee out of her mouth, just as she expired. Hymn. iii. ver. 160.

(*o*) Le Moyne var. sacr. Prol. ad tom. 1.

ness of such an adventure, I cannot think, had any such thing truly happened at his death, that not only Eusebius should have been ignorant of it, but that neither St. Hierome, nor Ruffinus, nor the Menæa of the Greek Church, should have made the least mention of it. Either, therefore, there must have been some interpolations in the manuscript set forth by that learned man; or, because that does not appear, perhaps it may be better accounted for by the mistake of a single letter in the original; which will bring it to no more than what Eusebius has in effect said, that *there came out of his left side a great quantity of blood.*

16. As for what concerns the time of his martyrdom, I have before shewn the different computations which learned men have made of it. Nor are they less at variance about the age(*q*) of this holy martyr when he suffered, than about the year of his suffering. For though St. Polycarp expressly told the Pro-Consul, as we read in the following Epistle,(*r*) that he *had served Christ eighty and six years*; yet some (*s*) interpret this of the number of years since his conversion; others(*t*) of those of his whole life. But however thus much is evident, that whichsoever of the two be in the right, they will either of them make good what Irenæus(*u*) has told us of him, that he was very old when he died; from which nothing can be concluded either for the former of these opinions, or against the latter.

17. But the following acts of his martyrdom go yet farther. They tell us that he not only suffered at so *great an age*, but upon the *great Sabbath*, *the second day of the month Xanticus*, *before the seventh kalend of May*, *about* 2 *o'clock*. What is meant by this *great sabbath* is another point much debated, but never like to be agreed among learned men; whose opinions are

(*q*) Vid. Tentzel. Exercit. select. de Polycarp. § xxxiv.
(*r*) Num. ix. (*s*) Vid. Præf. Usser. ad Act. Ignat. & Polycarp. pag. ult. Comp. Tentzel. disp. iv. de Polycarp § iii, iv.
(*t*) Pearson Dissert. Chron. part ii. c. 15.
(*u*) Iren. contr. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.

examined at large by Bishop Usher,(x) Valesius,(y) Le Moyne,(z) Bishop Pearson,(a) and others(b) upon this occasion. But if we were right before in assigning the year of his suffering, as I think we were; then we must conclude the *great Sabbath* to have been the same here, that is usually called by that name among ecclesiastical writers, namely, the *Saturday in the holy week*; to which all the other characters here assigned are exactly correspondent. And then according to this computation, St. Polycarp will have suffered in the year of Christ 147, being March 26, the Saturday before Easter, about the 8th hour.

18. The place in which he suffered was a large amphitheatre in which the common assemblies of Asia were wont to be kept: and as we are told by those(c) who have travelled into those parts, is in some measure still remaining; and shewn as the place of St. Polycarp's martyrdom. I say nothing to that which some have observed upon this occasion of the calamities which not long after fell upon the City of Smyrna; and which may seem to have been the effect of the divine vengeance, punishing them for their cruelty towards this excellent man, and the rest of his companions who suffered together with him: because this is without the bounds of my present design; which leads me only to consider what concerns the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, to which that which followed the death of Polycarp has no relation.

19. Having now passed through the chief parts of the following relation, and which seemed most to require our animadversion; it is time for me to observe concerning the Epistle itself, which is here subjoined, that it is a piece of most unquestionable credit and an-

(x) In Act. Polyc. num. 104, 105.
(y) Annot. in Euseb. p. 66. a. (z) Proleg. ad Var. sacr.
(a) Dissert. Chron. par. ii. c. 18.
(b) Ant. Pagi Critic. in Baron. ad ann. 169. Tentzel. Exerc. select. de Polyc. § xxv, xxxi, &c.
(c) Smith Epist. de vii. Asiæ Eccles. Tavernier; Wheeler, &c. Vid. Tentzel. Exercit. Select. iv. § xxxii, xxxiii.

tiquity. As for the main body of it, we find it preserved in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius ;(*d*) who lived not above an age and a half after the writing of it. And even the manuscript itself, made use of by Bishop Usher, is so well attested, that we need not any farther assurance of the truth of it. The sum of the account which we have given us of it is this ; " That Caius, an acquaintance of St. Irenæus the disciple of Polycarp, transcribed it from the copy of that Father ; and Socrates, the Corinthian from Caius—and from Socrates's copy was transcribed that manuscript which we still have of it.

20. Twice has this Epistle been put into our own language, as far as the history of Eusebius has given occasion for the translation of it. What those editions are I cannot tell, having never perused either of them. But I suppose it is now the first time joined in an entire piece together, and so communicated to the English reader. In my translation of it I have strictly followed the edition of our most reverend Primate, from which Cotelerius's is but a copy : nor have I, that I know of, departed in the least circumstance from it, except in that one for which I have before accounted. So that I may venture to say, I have here truly set forth the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, as near as our language would serve to express the sense, if not to come up to the beauty and vigour of the original.

(*d*) Lib. iv. c. 17.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE CATHOLIC EPISTLE OF ST. BARNABAS.

Why the pieces that follow are put in a second part, separate from the foregoing. The history of St. Barnabas, chiefly from the acts of the Apostles. Of his name, education and travels; especially with St. Paul. How he came to be separated from that Apostle. What he did afterwards. Of his death; and the invention of his relics; and of the Cyprian privileges established on that account. Of the present Epistle—that it was truly written by St. Barnabas. The principal objections against it answered. An apology for its allegorical interpretations of Scripture. The latter part of it, originally belonging to this Epistle. That it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. The design and usefulness of it.

1. WHEN I first entered upon the design of publishing the present collection, I intended to have here put an end to it; the following pieces under the names of Barnabas and Hermas, together with the second Epistle of St. Clement; however undoubtedly very antient and confessed by all to come but little, if any thing, short of the Apostolical times; having yet neither been so highly esteemed among the antients, nor so generally received by many of the present times, as those I have already mentioned. But when I considered the deference which others among the Primitive Fathers have paid to them, and the value which is still put upon them by many, not inferior either in learning or piety to those who speak against them; I thought I could not better satisfy all than by adding them in a second part to the foregoing Epistles: that so, both they who have a just esteem for them might not complain of being defrauded of any part of what remains of the Apostolical writings; and those who are otherwise minded might look upon them as standing in a second rank, and not taking place, (which otherwise they must have done) of those undoubtedly genuine and admirable discourses, that make up the former part of this work.

2. And here the first piece that occurs, is the catholic Epistle of St. Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul, and disciple of our Saviour Christ; being generally

esteemed to have been one of the seventy(*f*) that were chose by him; however our countryman, Bede,(*g*) calls the verdict of antiquity in question as to this matter, upon this account, because St. Luke, Acts iv. seemeth to intimate that he first came to the Apostles after the ascension of our Lord, and then embraced the Christian faith. To this it may be added, that he is there called *a Levite of Cyprus*, not one of the *seventy disciples*, which would have been much more for his honour to have been mentioned. The mistake of Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. if it were one, seems to have arisen from hence, that Joseph Barsabas, or as other manuscripts have it, Joses Barnabas, the competitor of St. Matthias, Acts i. (as on the contrary some manuscripts Acts iv. have Joseph Barsabas) who probably was of the seventy as well as Matthias, was confounded by them with our Barnabas; of whom, whatever becomes as to his discipleship, this we are sure, that the Holy Ghost by St. Luke has left us this advantageous character of him, Acts xi. 24. *That he was a good man, full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost.*

3. It is not my design to enter on any long account of the life of a person so largely spoken of in the Holy Scriptures, and of whom little certain can be written, besides what is there recorded. His country was Cyprus, a famous island in the Mediterranean sea, where there inhabited in those days so great a number of Jews, that in the time of Trajan(*h*) they conspired against the Gentiles, and slew of them two hundred and forty thousand men.(*i*) Upon which being cast out of the Isle, they were never suffered upon any account to set foot again in it, upon pain of death.

4. His name was at first Joses, but by the Apostles changed into Barnabas, which being interpreted, says St. Luke, is the son of consolation; and, as we may

(*f*) Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. ii. p. 410. Eusеb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 12. & lib. ii. cap. 1. (*g*) In Act. iv.
(*h*) Euseb. Chron. ad ann. 117. (*i*) Dion. lib. 68. Xiphiline, &c.

conjecture from the place where it is first mentioned, (Acts iv. 36, 37.) was given him by the Apostles as an honourable acknowledgment of his charity, in selling his whole estate for the relief of the poor Christians; and upon the account of that consolation which they received thereby.

5. His first education,(*l*) Metaphrastes tells us was at the feet of Gamaliel; by whom he was instructed, together with St. Paul: which perhaps moved that great Apostle upon his conversion to apply himself to him, as the properest person to introduce him into the acquaintance of the other Apostles, and afterwards to embrace him as his chief friend and fellow labourer in the work of the Gospel. For they are both mentioned, Acts xi. 26, to have taught much people at Antioch; and that for a whole year together: and in the 13th chapter are numbered among the prophets and teachers of the Christian Church there, ver. 7, where we read that they did λειτουργεῖν τῷ κυρίῳ, which some in a special manner interpret of the celebration of the holy Eucharist. Here then we find them both by teaching and administering that blessed sacrament, discharging the work of a priest or presbyter, as we now understand that word. But they still wanted the Apostolical or Episcopal character. By virtue of which they might do that ordinarily, which as prophets, they could only do in extraordinary cases, and by an express direction of the Holy Spirit; namely, found Churches, and ordain Elders or Bishops in every place. This dignity therefore we are told they now received, by the laying on of the hands of the other three prophets there mentioned; namely Simeon Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, Acts xiii. 3. And from thenceforth not only their title was changed, (they being afterwards called Apostles, Acts xiv. 4, and 14) but they exercised another sort of power; ordaining Elders in every Church, ver. 23.

(*l*) Apud Baron. Annal. ad ann. 34. num. 262. Comp. Dr. Cave in his life, num. 2.

Thus was Barnabas, together with St. Paul, first a teacher and a prophet, then consecrated to be a Bishop or an Apostle; according to the order which our Lord himself had appointed, that there should be in his Church, first, Apostles; secondly, Prophets; thirdly, teachers, 1 Cor. xii. 29. Which those therefore would do well to consider who thrust themselves at once into the highest station, and full power of the Church; not allowing distinct degrees of the same, nor by consequence successive ordinations, or consecrations to it. Whereas St. Paul, though he were called to be an Apostle, not by man, but by Jesus Christ himself, Galat. i. was yet consecrated to be an Apostle by the ordinary form of imposition of hands; after he had preached in the Church for some time before.

6. How these two Apostles travelled together, and what they did in the discharge of their ministry, is at large set down both by St. Luke in Acts (xiii, xiv, xv.) of the Apostles, and by St. Paul himself in his Epistle to the Galatians (c. ii.) in which we have the history of men truly concerned for the propagation of the Gospel; and despising not only their ease, but their very lives themselves in comparison of it. Many a weary journey did they take, and danger did they run: they preached in the day, and when they had so done, they wrought with their own hands in the night for their subsistence; that so they might not be burthensome to any, nor seem to seek their own advantage, but the profit of those to whom they tendered the Gospel.

7. Among other countries to which they went, we are told that one of the first was Cyprus, the native island of St. Barnabas: and that not of their own motion, but by the express order and appointment of the Holy Ghost. How they prevailed there, and by what miracles they made way for the conversion of it, first at Salamis, then at Paphos, we are at large informed by St. Luke, Acts xiii. From thence they

fetched a pretty large compass through the Lesser Asia; and having with various success preached to several cities of it, after about three years travel(*o*) they again returned to Antioch in Syria, the place from which they first set out.

8. Here they tarried a considerable space, in a sedulous discharge of their ministry: till some controversies arising between the Jewish and the Gentile converts, they were obliged for the better composing of them, to go up to Jerusalem; where a final end was put to them, by a Synodical decree(*p*) of the Apostles and Elders assembled together for that purpose.

9. With joy they returned to their disciples at Antioch, and brought the determination of that divine Synod unto them. But it was not long ere St. Peter coming down after them, a little abated their satisfaction, whilst to please the Jewish converts he dissembled his Christian liberty, (Galat. ii. 11, 14,) and, as St. Paul complains, led Barnabas also into the same dissimulation with him.

10. And here St. Paul had occasion, first of all, to reprove St. Barnabas; which he did with great freedom, for his unseasonable compliance. But it was not very long before he had another occasion offered for a yet worse contention with him. For the next year these two holy men(*r*) having agreed to take a new progress together, and to visit the Churches which they had planted in Asia some years before; Barnabas was for taking his cousin Mark again with them, but St. Paul would not consent to it, because that in their former travels he had too much consulted his own ease and safety, and left them at Pamphylia, in the midst of their journey, Acts xiii. 13.

11. Being both resolute in their opinions, the one

(*o*) Usher. Chronol. ann. 45, 46. Pearson. Annal. Paulin, ad ann. 48.

(*p*) Acts xv. Comp. Galat. ii.

(*r*) Acts xv. 36. Ann. Christi. L. Pearson. liii. Usserius.

to take Mark, his kinsman, with him, the other not to yield to it; they not only came to some sharp words with one another about it, but went their several ways, Barnabas with Mark to Cyprus, and Paul with Silas into Syria and Cilicia, Acts xv. 36, 41. Thus after a joint labour in their ministry for almost fourteen years, were these two excellent men, by a small punctilio, separated from one another: the Holy Spirit of God intending hereby to shew us, that the best Christians are still subject to the same infirmities with other men; and therefore ought not to be either too much exalted in the conceit of their own piety, or to despise others whom they suppose to be less perfect than themselves.

12. Nor was it a small benefit which from hence accrued not only to the Church, which thereby enjoyed the benefit of these two great men much more in their separate labours, than if they had continued still together, but particularly to St. Mark; who being by the severity of St. Paul brought to a deep sense of his former indifference in the work of the Gospel, and yet not left by St. Barnabas to give way to any desparate resolutions thereupon; became afterwards a most useful minister of Christ, and deserved not only to be made again the companion of St. Paul, Coloss. iv. 10, but to receive a very high testimony of his zeal from him, 2 Tim. iv. 11. So well does the wisdom of God know how to turn the infirmities of men to his own glory, and to the good of those who serve him with an honest and upright heart!

13. What became of St. Barnabas after this, and whither he went, is very uncertain. Some tell us, that from Cyprus he went on to Rome, and preached the Gospel there, even before St. Peter came thither.(y) But though Baronius can by no means allow of this, yet is he content that Barnabas should be thought to have come thither after him. At least this he pre-

(y) Recognit. Clem. apud. Baron. Annal. ad ann. 51. num. 52, 54. Et not. ad Mart. Rom. Jun. xi.

tends to be without dispute,(z) that St. Barnabas came into Italy, and preached the Gospel in Liguria, where he founded the famous Church of Milan, as from many antient monuments and writers, says he, might be made appear; though at the same time he produces not one testimony in proof of it. I shall therefore conclude, until I am better informed, that St. Barnabas spent the remains of his life in converting his own countrymen the Jews; of which, as I have before observed, there were such vast numbers in that Island, and for whom we cannot but think he must have had a very tender regard. Or if we shall suppose him to have gone any farther, I presume it was only into the neighbouring parts of the Lesser Asia and Judea, where he had before preached; or at farthest into Egypt,(a) where some tell us he went, and consecrated his nephew St. Mark, the first Bishop of the Christian Church at Alexandria.

14. And in this opinion I am the rather confirmed from the consideration of his Epistle which I have here subjoined: which seems manifestly to have been designed for the benefit of the Jews; and to shew how all the parts of their law had a farther spiritual meaning than what at first sight appeared, and were designed to lead them to the faith and piety of the Gospel.

15. In this exercise therefore he most likely spent his life; and if we may credit the relation of the Monk(b) in Surius, who writes the Acts of this holy Evangelist, at last suffered martyrdom in the psosecution of it; being at the instigation of certain Jews that came from Syria to Salamis, shut up in a synagogue where he was disputing with them, and at night stoned by them. What truth there is in this story I cannot tell; but this I must observe, which even Baronius(c) himself is forced to acknowledge, that there is

(z) Ibid. Annal. num. 54.
(a) Vid. n Vit. ejus. Edit. Oxon. Epist. p. 132.
(b) Alexandr. Monach. Encom. Barnabæ.
(c) Baron. Annal. ann. 51. num. 54.

nothing of this kind to be met with in any antient author; nor does either Eusebius or St. Jerome,(*d*) where they treat expressly of this holy man, so much as once give the title of martyr to him.

16. But whatever were the manner of St. Barnabas' death, yet famous is the story of the invention of his relics, delivered by the same Monk; who, as Baronius(*e*) tells us, lived at the same time under Zeno the Emperor; and confirmed by the concurrent testimonies(*f*) of Theodorus, Nicephorus, Cedrenus, Sigebert, Marianus Scotus and others. With what ceremony this was performed, and how this blessed Saint appeared twice to Anthemius, then Bishop of Salamis, in order to the discovery of his own relics; and how the Emperor commanded a stately Church to be built over the place of his burial; I shall leave it to those who are fond of such stories, to read at large in Baronius(*g*) and the Monk(*h*) whom I before mentioned. It will be of more concern to take notice that Nilus(*i*) Doxapater tells us, that this very thing was the ground of the Cyprian privileges: where, speaking of certain provinces that depended not upon any of the greater Patriarchats, he instances first of all in Cyprus; which, says he, continues free, and is subject to none of the Patriarchs, because of the Apostle Barnabas being found in it. And the same is the account which Nicephorus(*k*) also gives us of it; and which was assigned before both in the Notitia(*l*) ascribed to Leo, as I find it quoted by Monsieur Le Moyne, in his preface to his late collection of several antient pieces relating to ecclesiastical antiquity.

17. Together with his body was found, says Alexander,(*m*) the Gospel of St. Matthew, written in the

(*d*) Hieron. de script. in Barnab. (*e*) Baron. Annal. anno. 485.
(*f*) Id. Annot. a Martyrol. Rom. Jun. xi. (*g*) Annal. ann. 485.
(*h*) Apud. Surium. Jun xi. to. iii.
(*i*) Vid. Le Moyne Var. Sacr. tom. i. p. 236.
(*k*) Hist. Eccles. lib. xvi. c. 37.
(*l*) See Le Moyne Prolegom. ad Var. sacr.
(*m*) Alex. Monach. loc. citat. So Theodorus Lector Collect. lib. ii. p. 184.

Hebrew tongue, lying upon his breast; but Nilus(*n*) says, that of his kinsman St. Mark. Which of the two it was, or whether any thing of all this were more than a mere story, contrived by Anthemius to get the better of Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, I shall not undertake to determine. It is enough that we are assured that by this means(*o*) he not only preserved his privileges against Peter, but got his See confirmed by the Emperor as an independent See; which was also afterwards again done by Justinian, at the instigation of the Empress Theodora who was herself a Cyprian.

18. But to return to that which is more properly the business of these reflections. It does not appear that St. Barnabas left any more in writing than the Epistle I have here subjoined. Some indeed there were heretofore who thought that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by him. Tertullian(*p*) confidently quotes it as his. Nor does St. Hieronie(*q*) censure him for it, but leaves it as a doubt whether it should be ascribed to him or to St. Luke, St. Clement or St. Paul; though he seems rather to incline to St. Paul. But that this is a mistake, and that St. Paul was indeed the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has been very largely and learnedly proved by Dr. Mills in his Prolegomena to the New Testament, so as to put that matter beyond all doubt. As for the present Epistle, it is certain that several of the antient Fathers took it to be undoubtedly of St. Barnabas's writing. Clement Alexandrinus(*r*) quotes it as such both in his Stromata yet extant, and in his lost books of Hypotyposes, as is remarked by Eusebius(*s*) in his Ecclesiastical History. Origen(*t*) calls it the Catholic Epistle of Barnabas, without the least intimation of any doubt about it, as he uses to give when he quoteth other Apocryphal books; as those of Hermas, of which more hereafter. Others

(*n*) Nilus Doxap. inter Var. sacr. p. 236.
(*o*) Baron. Annal loc. supr. citat.
(*p*) Tertull de Pudicit. c. 20 (*q*) De Script. Eccl. in S. Paulo.
(*r*) Vid Coteler. Testim. v. pp. (*s*) Eccles. Hist. lib. vi. c. 13, 14.
(*t*) Lib. i. Contr. Celsum.

indeed of the Fathers seem, if not to have denied that this Epistle was written by Barnabas the Apostle, yet at least to have doubted of it. Eusebius(*u*) reckons it among the Scriptures of the New Testament which were received by some, and contradicted by others. St. Jerome(*x*) reckons it among the Apocryphal books, which were not put into the Canon of the holy Scriptures, upon the account of the uncertainty of their authors, and consequently of their infallible authority.

19. Which being so, I cannot but wonder at some in our own times, who, without any better grounds, peremptorily pronounce it to be none of St. Barnabas': whereas of the antient Ecclesiastical writers who lived much nearer the age of our author, some positively affirmed it; and though some others doubted of it, yet none plainly denied it; at least it does not appear that any did so. And of this Cotelerius(*y*) seems to have been sensible; who though he did not care to ascribe it to the Barnabas of whom we are now discoursing, yet was forced to suppose that some other Barnabas wrote it; without which he saw there could be no way of answering the concurrent verdict of all antiquity, which has universally agreed in Barnabas as the author of it. But now who this other Barnabas was, or that in those times there was any such person, he pretends not to tell us; and they who ascribe it to Barnabas, expressly speak of him as the same of whom I have hitherto been discoursing (*z*)

20. But of all others, most unaccountable is the fancy of Monsieur Le Moyne(*a*) concerning the author of this Epistle. He had observed that in several Greek manuscripts it was immediately continued on with that of St. Polycarp; and from this he concludes the two Epistles to have been written by St. Polycarp: whereas in truth, by some chance in the copy from

(*u*) Loc. Citat.
(*x*) Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. & lib. xiii. in Ezek. cap. 43.
(*y*) Cotel. Not. in Barnab. p. 7. B. C.
(*z*) Vid. Clem. Alex. Hieron. &c. inter Testim. Coteler.
(*a*) Proleg. in Var. Sacr. in Polycarpo.

which the rest were transcribed, a few leaves were lost, containing the end of St. Polycarp's, and the beginning of St. Barnabas's Epistles; by which means the Greek of both is imperfect. But all the Latin copies constantly ascribing this letter to Barnabas, and the antient Fathers all agreeing to the same, utterly destroy this opinion; in which, as he had none to go before him, so I believe he will scarcely meet with any to follow him.(*b*)

21. Nor are the arguments which they bring against the authority of it, of such moment as to overthrow the constant testimonies of the antients on its behalf. They tell us(*c*) first, that it is evident from the 16th chapter of this Epistle, that it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. But why may not Barnabas have been then living, as well as we are sure St. John and several others of the companions of the Apostles were? And if he may have been living after it, why shall not we suppose that he was, as well as they that he was not? seeing it does not appear from the testimony of any antient writers when he died.

22. But secondly,(*d*) they argue yet farther against it: for if this, say they, be the genuine Epistle of St. Barnabas, how comes it to pass that it is not received as Canonical? Certainly had the primitive Christians believed it to have been written by such a man, they would without controversy have placed it among the sacred writings, and not have censured it as of doubtful authority. This is indeed a very specious pretence, but which being a little examined will be found to have no strength in it: it being certain that the primitive Fathers(*e*) did own this for St. Barnabas's Epistle, and yet not receive it into their canon; and therefore

(*b*) Vid. Tentzel. Exercit. Select. de Polyc. § 38, 39. Præf. Usser. in edit. Oxon. S. Barnab. p. v.

(*c*) Coteler. Not. in Barnab. p. 7. C. Natal. Alex. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. § i. p. 100. Le Moyne Prolegom. ad Var. Sacr.

(*d*) Coteler. Not. in Barn. p. 5, 6. Natal. Alex. ibid. Le Moyne Prolegom. ad Var. Sacr.

(*e*) Vid. Coteler. Not. in Barnab. p. 6. E. 7. A.

that it does not follow, that had they believed it to have been his, they must have esteemed it canonical.

23. *What rules they had, or by what measure they proceeded, in those first times, in judging of the canonical scriptures of the New Testament, it is not necessary for me here to inquire. It is enough that we know what books the church did at last agree in as coming under that character: and for the rest, as we cannot doubt but that there was a due care taken in examining into a matter of such importance, and that those primitive Fathers did not without very good reason distinguish those that were written by divine inspiration, from those that were not; so we are very sure that all was not admitted by them into the rank of canonical scripture that was written by any Apostolical man; and therefore that it can be no good argument, that Barnabas was not the author of this Epistle, because it is not placed among the sacred writings of the New Testament.

24. But there is yet one objection more, and that much insisted upon by those who are enemies to this Epistle.(*f*) They tell us it is full of a strange sort of allegorical interpretations of holy Scripture, and therefore unworthy to be fathered upon so evangelical an author. And yet notwithstanding this, we find Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, Eusebius and St. Jerome (some of the greatest and most learned critics of those ages that were the nearest to the time in which it was written) not doubting to ascribe it to St. Barnabas, and to think it worthy too of such an author.

25. I need not say how general a way this was of interpreting scripture, in the time that St. Barnabas lived. To omit Origen, who has been noted as excessive in it; and for whom yet a learned man(*g*) has very lately made a reasonable apology: who has ever

* See this argument more fully handled by the learned Dr. Grabe. Spicileg. sec. ii. pag. 6, 7.

(*f*) Cotel. Not. ad Barnab. p. 5. D. Natal. Alex. Hist. Eccles. Sæc. i. to. i. p. 100. Le Moyne Prol. ad Var. Sacr.

(*g*) Huetius Origen. lib. ii. Quæst. 13. p. 170, &c.

shewn a more diffusive knowledge than Clemens Alexandrinus has done in all his composures? And yet in his works we find the very same method taken of interpreting the holy Scriptures, and that without any reproach either to his learning or to his judgment. What author has there been more generally applauded for his admirable piety, than the other Clement, whose Epistle to the Corinthians I have here inserted? And yet even in that plain piece(*h*) we meet with more than one instance of the same kind of interpretation, which was nevertheless admired by the best and most primitive Christians.

26. Even St. Paul(*i*) himself, in his Epistles received by us as canonical, affords us not a few instances of this which is so much found fault with in St. Barnabas, as I might easily make appear from a multitude of passages out of them, were it needful for me to enlarge myself on a point, which every one who has read the Scriptures with any care, cannot but have observed.

27. Now that which makes it the less to be wondered at in St. Barnabas is, that the Jews,(*k*) of which number he was himself originally one, and to whom he wrote, had of a long time been wholly addicted to this way of interpreting the law, and taught men to search out a spiritual meaning for almost all the ritual commands and ceremonies of it. This is plain from the account which Aristeas(*l*) has left us of the rules which Eleazer the high priest, to whom Ptolemy sent for a copy of the Mosaical law, gave him for the understanding of it. When it being objected to him, "that their legislator seemed to be too curious in little matters, such as the prohibitions of meats and drinks, and the like, for which there appeared no just reason; he

(*h*) Vid. Annot. Vossii in Barnab. p. 310.

(*i*) See 1 Cor. x. 1, 4. Gal. iv. 21. Ephes. v. 31. Hebr. ix. 8, 23, 24. x. 1, &c.

(*k*) See Hist. Crit. du V. T. Liv. iii. chap. vii.

(*l*) Apud Euseb. Præparat. Evang. lib. viii. cap. 9.

shewed him at large, that there was a farther hidden design in it, than what at first sight appeared; and that these outward ordinances were but as so many cautions to them against such vices as were principally meant to be forbidden by them." And then goes on to explain this part of the law, after the same manner that Barnabas has done in the following Epistle.

28. But this is not all; Eusebius(*m*) gives us yet another instance to confirm this to us, viz. of Aristobulus, who lived at the same time, and delivered the like spiritual meaning of the law that Eleazar had done before. And that this was still continued among the Hellenistical Jews, is evident from the account that is left us by one of them, who was contemporary with St. Barnabas, and than whom none has been more famous for this way of writing; I mean Philo,(*n*) in his description of the Therapeutæ; whether the same whom in the beginning of his book(*o*) he calls by the name of Essenes, as Scalliger(*p*) supposes; or a particular sect of Jews, as Valesius(*q*) will have it; or lastly, a kind of Monkish converts from Judaism to Christianity, as Eusebius(*r*) heretofore described them, and as some other learned men(*s*) seem rather to conjecture. But whatever becomes of this, herein they all agree, that they were originally Jews; and therefore we may be sure they followed the same method of interpreting scripture that the Alexandrian Jews were wont to do.

29. Now the account which Eusebius(*t*) from Philo, gives us of them, is this. "Their leaders, says he, left them many antient writings of their notions, clothed in Allegories." And again;(*u*) "they interpret the Holy Scriptures, viz. of the Old Testament,

(*m*) Præpar. Evang. lib. viii. c. 10. p. 376.
(*n*) Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 17.
(*o*) De Vit. Contempl. p. 889.
(*p*) Scalig. de Emend. Tempor. lib. v.
(*q*) Vales. Annot. in Euseb. lib ii. c. 17. p. 30, 31.
(*r*) Hist. Eccles. lib ii c. 17. p. 43, A. B & p. 45, A. B.
(*s*) Bruno de Therapeut. dissert. p 183, &c.
(*t*) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. loc. cit. p. 44. b. (*u*) Ibid. p. 45. b. c.

Allegorically." For you must know, continues he, "that they liken the law to an animal; the words of which make up the body, but the hidden sense which lies under them, and is not seen, that they think to be the soul of it." And this was that which a late learned author(x) supposes rendered their conversion to Christianity the more easy. For being wont to seek out the spiritual meaning of the law, they more readily embraced the Gospel, than those who looked no farther than the outward letter, and were therefore the harder to be persuaded to come over to so spiritual an institution.

30. It was from hence, I suppose, that the most early heretics were so wedded to their mystical interpretations of Scripture, and so much valued themselves upon the account of them: against whose false and impure doctrines, our late great critic, Dr. Hammond,(y) supposes St. Barnabas to have principally designed his Epistle; and therefore that being to deal with men who valued nothing but such kind of expositions, he was forced to confute them in their own way; both as most suitable to their manners, and most proper either to convince them of their errors, or at least to prevent others, especially the Jewish converts, from falling into them.

31. But whether this were so or no, thus much is evident from what has been said; that the Hellenistical Jews, to whom it is most probable St. Barnabas addressed his Epistle, were altogether used to this way of interpreting the holy Scriptures; and therefore that howsoever it may appear to us, who are so utterly unaccustomed to it, yet we ought not to wonder that St. Barnabas, who was himself a Jew, should at such a time, and upon such an occasion as this, make use of it; or suppose it at all unworthy of him so to do.

(x) Bruno de Therap. p. 193.

(y) Dissert. de Antichristo, c. vii. Et Dissert. i. contr. Blondel. c. vii. § 4, 5.

32. Nor indeed were they the Jews only that led the holy men in those days into these mystical expositions of the sacred Scriptures. Even the Gentile philosophers conduced towards it; whilst the better to cover over the fabulous stories of their Gods, which they saw were too ridiculous to be maintained; they explained the whole system of their idolatry by allegorical analogies, and shewed all the poetical accounts of them to be only the outside shadows of a sort of natural theology included under those fictions. Thus Heraclides of Pontus wrote a whole book of the allegories of Homer:(z) and Metrodorus of Lampsacus(z) is fallen foul upon by Tatian, in his oration against the Greeks, for pretending that neither Juno, nor Minerva, nor Jupiter, were what those imagined who built temples and altars to them, φύσιως δὲ ὑποστατεις και στοιχ-ίων διακοσμήσεις Nay, so far went this last author in his allegories, as to turn all the Trojan and Grecian heroes into mere fictions; and to make Hector and Achilles, and Agamemnon, and even Helena herself, nothing less than what one would think they were, and what the common people ignorantly imagined them to be.

33. And for the influence which this had upon the antient Fathers,(a) who from philosophers became Christians; the writings both of Justin Martyr, and Clemens Alexandrinus, sufficiently shew. And if we may believe(b) Porphyry, an enemy in the case of Origen; he tells us in the same place in which he complains of him, "for turning those things that were clearly delivered by Moses into mystical significations," not only that he did this in imitation of the Grecians; but that it was his frequent conversation with Numenius and Cronius, Moderatus, Nicomachus, and others among the Pythagoreans;(c) and with

(z) Tatian. contr. Grec. p. 160 b. c.
(a) See Hist. Crit. du v. t. Liv. iii chap. viii.
(b) Apud. Euseb. Hist. Eccles lib. vi. c. 19. p. 178.
(c) Ibid. p. 179. Vid. Annot. Vales. p. 108, 109.

Chæremon and Cornutus among the Stoics; that he had learned his allegorical way of expounding the holy Scriptures; and applied that to his religion, which they were wont to do to their superstition.

34. From all which it appears, that this way of writing in matters of religion, was in those days generally used not only among the Jews, but among the wiser and more philosophical of the Gentiles too: and from both came to be almost universally practised among the primitive Christians. Which being so, we ought to be far from censuring of St. Barnabas for his mystical application of what God prescribed to the Jews in the Old Testament, to the spiritual accomplishment of it in the new. Much less should we ever the more call in question either the truth or credit of his Epistle upon this account.

35. Having said thus much either in vindication of the allegorical expositions of this Epistle, or at least by way of apology for them; I shall add but little more concerning the Epistle itself. I have before observed as to the time of its writing, that it was somewhat after the destruction of Jerusalem; and as we may conjecture from the subject of it, (for title at present it has none, nor does it appear that ever it had any) was addressed to the Jews, to draw them off from the letter of the law, to a spiritual understanding of it; and by that means dispose them to embrace the Gospel. Whether he had besides this a farther design, as Dr. Hammond supposes,(*d*) to confute the errors of the Gnostic Heretics, and to prevent the Jewish converts from falling into them, it is not certain; but may from the chief points insisted upon by him be probably enough supposed. If any one shall think it strange, that disputing against the Jews for the truth of the Gospel, he should not have urged any of those passages relating to the Messiah, which seem to us the most apposite to such a purpose; such as the

(*d*) Dissert. Antichristo, cap. vii.

oracle of Jacob concerning the time that Shiloh was to come; the 70 weeks of Daniel; the prophecies of Haggai and Malachi, of his coming while the second temple stood; and which was now destroyed when he wrote this Epistle, and the like: Monsieur le Moyne(*e*) will give him a ready answer, viz. that these passages relate chiefly to the time of Christ's appearing, and that this was no controversy in those days; the Jews not only confessing it, but being ready at every turn through this persuasion to set up some or other for their Messiah, to their shame and confusion. It was therefore then but little necessary to use those arguments against them, which now appear to be the most proper and convincing: since the state of the question has been altered, and the Jews deny either that their Messiah is come, or that it was necessary for him to have come about that time that our Saviour Christ appeared in the flesh.

36. But though the chief design of this Epistle was to convince the Jews of the truth of our religion, yet are there not wanting in the latter part of it, many excellent rules, to render it still very useful to the pious reader. Indeed some have doubted whether this did originally belong to this Epistle;(*f*) or whether it has not since been added to it. But seeing we find this part quoted by the Fathers, as belonging to St. Barnabas, no less than the other; and that the measure assigned to it in the antient Stichometries, can hardly be well accounted for without it: I do not see but that we ought to conclude, that our author did divide his Epistle into the two parts in which we now have it; and that this letter, as well as the former, was written by him.

37. As for the translation which I have here given of it, I have made it up out of what remains of the original Greek, and of the old Latin version; and of each of which, though a part be lost, yet it

(*e*) Proleg. ad Var. Sacr.
(*f*) Præfat. Usser. ad Edit. Oxon. p. 11, &c.

has so fallen out, that between them we not only have the whole Epistle, but that too free of those interpolations which Vossius tells us some had endeavoured to make in this, as well as in Ignatius's Epistles.(*g*) The passages of holy Scripture which are here quoted according to the Septuagint, I have chose rather to set down as they are in our English Bible, than to amuse the common reader with a new translation of them. Upon the whole, I have endeavoured to attain to the sense of my author, and to make him as plain and easy as I was able. If in any thing I shall have chanced to mistake him, I have only this to say for myself, that he must be better acquainted with the road than I pretend to be, who will undertake to travel so long a journey in the dark, and never to miss his way.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE SHEPHERD OF ST. HERMAS; AND OF THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS.

That the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 14. was probably the author of that book which is here subjoined under his name. There is little remaining of his life, more than what is taken out of his own book. Of his death; uncertain whether he died a martyr. The antient fathers divided in their opinions of this book: nor are our later critics any less. That there are many useful things in it. Of the second Epistle of St. Clement: that it is not of equal reputation with the former: by some denied to be St. Clement's. It is most probable that it was written by St. Clement, and has many excellent things, and worthy of that holy man, in it. These two pieces now the first time translated into our own language.

1. THERE is not a greater difference between the learned men of the present times concerning the Epistle of St. Barnabas, than there was among the antient Fathers heretofore, concerning the authority of

(*g*) Is. Vossius Annot. in Barnab. p. 318.

that book, which next follows, under the name of Hermas. Who this Hermas was, what he did, and what he suffered for the faith's sake, is in great measure unknown to us. That there was one of that name at Rome when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Church there, his remembrance of him, Rom. xvi. 14. will not suffer us to doubt. Nor is it improbable but that it was the same Hermas(*h*) who afterwards wrote this book: and who appears not only still to have continued his relation to the Church of Rome, but to have written at such a time as may well enough agree to one of St. Paul's acquaintance. The former of these may be collected from his second vision,(*i*) which he seems to have had at the same time that Clement was Bishop of Rome, and to whom therefore he is commanded to communicate a copy of it: and for the latter, might the conjectures of two of our greatest critics(*k*) be allowed, who apply the affliction of which he speaks in another of his visions(*l*) to the destruction of Jerusalem then at hand, it would follow that this book must have been written within twelve years after the Epistle to the Romans, and so in all probability by that Hermas, of whom St. Paul speaks in that Epistle. But though I rather think that the tribulation which Hermas foretold,(*m*) relates to the persecution under Domitian, because it is there said to be the trial of the Christians, who should be tried as gold in the fire, but yet should overcome it, and not be hurt by it:(*n*) (a character that exactly agrees with what Tertulian writes of that persecution;)(*o*) yet even this does not hinder but that the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul, might still be living, and be the author of the book we here have under his name.

2. Hence Origen in his Homily(*p*) upon that place

(*h*) Vid. Baron. Annot. ad Martyrol. Rom. Maii ix.
(*i*) Vis. ii. num. iv.
(*k*) Dr. Hammond and Mr. Dodwell: see Dr. Cave's Hist. Literar. in Herm.
(*l*) Vis. iv. § 3. (*m*) Vis. iv. § 1. (*n*) Vis. iv. § 2, 3.
(*o*) Apolog. c. 5. (*p*) Hom. in Rom. lib. x. c. 16.

of St. Paul before mentioned, delivers it as his opinion, that it was the Hermas there spoken of, who wrote this book. But Eusebius does more;(q) he tells us that it was the received opinion in those days, that it was composed by him. And that it continued to be so in the age after, St. Hierome witnesses;(r) who speaks yet more positively than Eusebius to the same purpose. From all which we may conclude what is to be judged of that mistake which our latter writers have fallen into, by their too credulous following the author of the Poem against Marcion, under the name of Tertullian,(s) viz. that it was written by Hermes, brother to Pope Pius; in which not only the authors of the pontifical ascribed to Pope Damasus(t) and of the pretended decretal Epistles of the antient Bishops of Rome,(u) but the martyrologists of the middle ages, Bede, Ado, &c. have generally been involved.

3. It is true Cardinal Baronius has endeavoured to make up this difference, by supposing that the Hermes spoken of by St. Paul, was brother to Pope Pius, and so all parties may be in the right. But besides, that this book was written by Hermas, not the Hermes of whom St. Paul there speaks; the difference of the time renders it altogether incredible,(x) that a person of some considerable age at St. Paul's writing his Epistle, should have lived so long as that Pope's brother is said to have done: whom the Cardinal himself observes to have been living 164 years after Christ;(y) that is to say, 107 years after the writing of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. This his Epitomator Spondanus was aware of;(z) and therefore though he seems to have allowed of the conjecture, yet he could not choose but add this reflection of his

(q) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 3. (r) Hieron. de Script. in Herm.
(s) Lib. iii. (t) In Vit. Pii Papæ.
(u) Epist. i. attrib. Pio pp. p. 194 edit Blondel.
(x) See Bellarmin. de Script. § i. p. 45, in Herm.
(y) Annal. Eccl. in fine anno. 164.
(z) Spondan. Epitom. Annal. Baron. add ann. 139.

own upon it; that according to this reckoning, Hermas must have been 130 years old when he died, and in all probability a great deal more.

4. What the condition of this Hermas was before his conversion, we cannot tell; but that he was a man of some consideration, we may conclude from what we read of him in his third vision:(a) where he is said to have been formerly unprofitable to the Lord upon the account of those riches, which, after he became a Christian, he seems to have dispensed in works of charity and beneficence.

5. Nor have we any more knowledge how he was converted, than what his condition was before: it is probable from several passages in his book,(b) that he was himself brought over to Christianity some time before his family; who continued yet in the practice of many and great impieties. During this while Hermas was not only very kind to them, but seems to have been so indulgent towards them, as to permit them rather to go on in their sins, than he would take any rough measures with them to draw them off from them.

6. But this was not all: he not only patiently bore with them, but was himself disturbed with many anxious cares,(c) to supply them in their extravagances, and often times did not behave himself so well as he ought to have done upon that account. But however, being of an honest and upright disposition, and having a great sincerity in his religion, it pleased God at last not only to convince him of his faults, in thus neglecting his family, but to give them grace to hearken to his admonitions, and to embrace at once both the Christian faith, and a practice also suitable thereunto.

7. What he did after this, we have no account; but that he lived a very strict life, we may reasonably conjecture, in that it pleased God to vouchsafe such

(a) Vis. iii. num. 6. (b) Vis. i. n. 3. Vis. ii. n. 2, 3.
(c) See below, Vis. i. n. 2, 3.

extraordinary revelations to him, and to employ him in several messages to his Church, both to correct their manners, and to warn them of the trials that were about to come upon them.

8. This was so singular a grace, even in those times of miracles, that we find some other Christians, not so humble as they ought to be, became enemies to him upon the account of them. However this did not hinder, but that God still continued to make use of his ministry in admonishing sinners; and he as readily and faithfully went on, both in warning them of their danger, and in exhorting them to repent and save their souls.

9. This was the business of this holy man, in which he spent his life; and if we may believe the Roman Martyrology, his death was not unsuitable to it: where we read, that being illustrious for his miracles, he at last offered himself a worthy sacrifice unto God. But upon what grounds this is established Baronius himself could not tell us;(*d*) insomuch that in his annals he durst not once mention the manner of his death, but is content to say, "that having undergone many labours and troubles in the time of the persecution under Aurelius, (and that too without any authority) he at last rested in the Lord, July 26th, which is therefore observed in commemoration of him.(*e*) And here is indeed a pleasant mistake, and worthy the Roman Martyrology. For this author, from the book of which we are now discoursing, being sometimes called by the title of Pastor, or Shepherd, the Martyrologist has very gravely divided the good man into two Saints; and they observe the memorial of Hermas, May 9th, and of Pastor, July 26th.(*f*) Unless we shall rather say that this was indeed the Cardinal's blunder, and the Martyrology in the right, to make two distinct persons of St. Hermas mentioned

(*d*) Annot. ad Mart. Rom. Maii ix.
(*e*) Baron. Annal. Eccles. ad ann. 164.
(*f*) Vid. Martyrol. Rom. ad Maii ix. & July xxvi.

by St. Paul; and the brother to Pope Pius, to whom the passages mentioned July 26th, do manifestly belong;(g) and erred only in applying the character of Pastor to the latter,(h) which, with the treatise of which we are now discoursing, ought (as the Cardinal has truly observed,)(i) to have been ascribed to the former.

10 But not to insist any longer upon the author of this book: as for the work itself, we find both the antient Fathers, and the learned of our own times, not a little divided in their judgments concerning it. Some there are, and those the nearest to the time when this book was written, that treat almost with the same respect that they would do the Canonical Scriptures. Irenius quotes it under the very name of the *Scripture.*(k) Origen,(l) though he sometimes moderates his opinion of it, upon the account of some who did not, it seems, pay the same respect with himself to it, yet speaking of Hermas being the author of this book in his comments on the Epistle to the Romans, gives us this character of it, that he thought it to be a most useful writing, and was, as he believed, *divinely inspired.* Usebius(m) tells us, that though being doubted of by some, it was not esteemed Canonical, yet was it by others judged a most necessary book, and as such, read publicly in the Churches. And St. Hierom(n) having in like manner observed that it was read in some Churches, makes this remark upon it, that it was indeed a very profitable book; and whose testimony was often quoted by the Greek Fathers. Athanasius cites this book,(o) together with the other

(g) Comp. Martyrol. Rom. Jul. 26, with Baron. Annal. ann. 162, 164, 166.

(h) Martyrol. Rom. Jul. 26.

(i) Annot. b. ad. Martyrol. Rom. Maii 9.

(k) Lib. iv. advers. Hæres. & apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 8.

(l) Origen Enarrat. in Epist. ad Rom. p. 411. d.

(m) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 3. (n) Catal. Script. in Herm.

(o) De Incarnat. Verb. tom. i. p. 55. d.

books of Scripture, and calls it a most useful treatise; and in another place tells us,(*p*) that though it was not strictly Canonical, yet was it reckoned among those books which the Fathers appointed to be read to such as were to be instructed in the faith, and desired to be directed in the way of piety.

11. Hence we may observe, as a farther evidence of respect which was paid to this book heretofore, that it was not only openly read in the Churches, but in some of the most antient manuscripts of the New Testament, is joined together with the other books of the holy Scriptures. An instance of this Coteleri-us(*q*) offers us in that of the monastery of St. Germans in France, in which it is continued on at the end of St. Paul's Epistles. And in several of the old Stichometries, it is put in the same catalogue with the inspired writings; as may be seen in that which the same author(*r*) has published out of a manuscript in the king's library, in his observations upon St. Barnabas; in which St. Barnabas's Epistle is placed immediately before the Revelations, as the acts of the Apostles, and Hermas's Shepherd, are immediately after it.

12. And yet after all this, we find this same book not only doubted of by others among the antient Fathers, but slighted even by some of those, who on other occasions have spoken thus highly in its favour. Thus St. Jerome,(*s*) in his comments, exposes the folly of that Apocryphal book, as he calls it, which in his catalogue of writers he had so highly applauded. Tertullian,(*t*) who spake if not honourably, yet calmly of it whilst a Catholic, being become a Montanist,(*u*) rejected it even with scorn. And most of the other Fathers(*w*) who have spoken the highest of it themselves, yet

(*p*) Epist. Pasch. tom. ii. p. 39, 40.
(*q*) Annot. ad Herm. p. 41. (*r*) Annot. in Barnab. p. 9, 10.
(*s*) Comment. in Habac. l. 14. fol. 83. D. (*t*) De Orat. cap. xii.
(*u*) De Pudicitia, cap x.
(*w*) Vid. Testimon. in Edit. Coteler. p. 28, &c.

plainly enough insinuate that there were those who did not put the same value upon it. Thus Origen(*x*) mentions some who not only denied, but despised its authority. And Cassian(*y*) having made use of it in the point of free-will, Prosper,(*z*) without more ado, rejected it as a testimony of no value. And what the judgment of the latter ages was as to this matter, especially after Pope Gelasius(*a*) had ranked it among the Apocryphal books, may be seen at large in the observations of Antonius Augustinus(*b*) upon that decree.

13. How far this has influenced the learned men of our present times in their censures upon this work, is evident from what many on all sides have freely spoken concerning it, who not only deny(*c*) it to have been written by Hermas the companion of St. Paul, but utterly cast it off as a piece of no worth, but rather full of error and folly. Thus Baronius(*d*) himself, though he delivers not his own judgment concerning it, yet plainly enough shews that he ran in with the severest censures of the antients against it; and in effect charges it with favouring the Arians, though upon a mistaken authority of St. Athanasius,(*e*) which by no means proves any such error to be in it. But Cardinal Bellarmine(*f*) is more free; he tells us that it has many hurtful things in it, and particularly that it favours the Novatian heresy; which yet I think a very little equity in interpreting of some passages that look that way, by others that are directly contrary thereunto, would serve to acquit it of. Others are yet more severe:(*g*) they censure it as being full of heresies and fables: though this Labbe(*h*) would

(*x*) Philocal. c. i.
(*y*) Cassian. Collat. xiii. c. 12.
(*z*) Contr. Collator. c. 30.
(*a*) Decret. Gratian. Dist. 15.
(*b*) De Emend. Gratiani Dial. vi. p. 63, 64.
(*c*) See Possev. Apparat. tom. ii. titul. Pastor.
(*d*) Baron. Annal. ann. 159. numb. 5, 6.
(*e*) Epist. ad Afros apud Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 8.
(*f*) Script. Eccles. Centur. 1. in Herm.
(*g*) Jo. M. Brasichellan. apud Labbæum de Script. to. 1. p. 791.
(*h*) De Script. in Herm. to. 1. p. 431.

be thought to excuse, by telling us that they have been foisted into it by some later interpolations; and ought not to be imputed to Hermas, the author of this book.

14. Nor have many of those(*i*) of the reformed churches have been any whit more favourable in their censures of the present treatise. But then as the chiefest of the antient Fathers heretofore, though they admitted it not into the canon of holy Scripture, yet otherwise paid a very great deference to it; so the more moderate part of the learned men of our present times, esteem it as a piece worthy of all respect and clear of those faults which are too lightly charged by some persons upon it. Thus Petavius,(*k*) none of the most favourable critics upon the antient Fathers, yet acknowledges, as to the present book, that it was never censured by any of the antients as guilty of any false doctrine or heresy, but especially as to the holy Trinity. Cotelerius,(*l*) one of the latest editors of it, esteems it as an ecclesiastical work of good note, and a great defence of the Catholic faith against the errors of Montanism: whose judgment is not only followed by their late historian, Natalis Alexander,(*m*) but is made good too in the defence of it against those objections which some have brought to lessen its reputation. And for those of our own communion, I shall mention only two, but they such as will serve instead of many to all judicious persons who have at large justified it against the chief of those exceptions that have been taken at it; the one, the most excellent Bishop Pearson,(*n*) in his vindication of St. Ignatius; the other, the learned Bishop Bull,(*o*) in his

(*i*) Rivet. Critic. Sacr. lib. i. c. 12. Hoernbeck Theol. pp. to. 1. Miscellan. Sacr. p. 91. Scultet. Medulla pp. pag. 375. Daille de Script. Ignat. Larroque Observ. in Vind. Ignat. part 1. p. 19. Cave Hist. lit p. 21, &c.

(*k*) Præfat. in to. ii. Dogm. Theol. c. 2. § 6.

(*l*) Not. in Herm. p. 43. c. (*m*) Alex. Natal. § 1. tom. i p. 10*, 104.

(*n*) Vind. Ignat. part 1. c. 4.

(*o*) Defens. Fid. Nicæn. § 1. c. 2. p. 30.

defence of the Nicene faith, in the point of our blessed Saviour's divinity; which he largely shews our present author to have been far from doing any prejudice unto.

15. Such have been the different judgments of learned men, both heretofore, and in our present times, concerning this book. It would be too great a presumption for me to pretend to determine any thing as to this matter; and having subjoined the work itself in our own language, every one may be able to satisfy himself what value he ought to put upon it. That there are many useful things to be found in it, but especially in the second, and I think the best part of it cannot be denied. And for the other two, it must be considered, that though such visions as we there read of, being no longer continued to these latter ages, may warrantably be despised in the pretenders of the present days; yet we cannot doubt but that at the time when this book was written, the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were very frequent: and we need not question but that such revelations too among the rest, were communicated to holy men for the benefit of the Church.

16. But I shall not pursue this subject any farther: nor will I add very much to what I have before said with relation to St. Clement and his first Epistle, concerning that part which still remains of a second under his name, and which concludes the following collection.

17. That this second Epistle was not of so great a reputation among the Primitive Fathers, as the foregoing, Eusebius not only tells us,(*p*) but gives us this testimony of it, that he could not find it quoted, as the other was, by any of them. But St. Jerome is more severe;(*q*) he represents it to us as rejected by them: and Photius after him, calls it a spurious piece.(*r*) And not to mention any more, our most

(*p*) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 38.
(*q*) De Script. in Clemente. (*r*) Phot. Cod. 112, 113.

Reverend Bishop Usher not only concurs in the same censure, but offers several arguments too in proof of it.(s)

18. And yet, when all is done, it does not appear but that St. Clement was indeed the author of this, as well as of the other Epistle before spoken of; though it was not so much esteemed by, nor by consequence so generally known to the antients as that. In the manuscript of St. Thecla(t) we find this set forth under the same title with the other. And in all the other catalogues of the antients, wherever one is spoken of, the other is for the most part set together with it: as may particularly be observed in the Apostolical Canons,(u) not to mention any other collections of this kind.

19. Nor does Eusebius(v) deny this Epistle to be St. Clement's, but only says that it was not so celebrated as the other. And true it is, we do not find it either so often or so expressly mentioned as that. But yet if the conjecture of Wendeline,(w) approved by a very learned man(x) of our own country, may be admitted; Eusebius himself(y) will afford us an instance of one who not only spake of it, but spake of it as wont to be publicly read in the Church of Corinth. For discoursing of the Epistles of Dionysius, Bishop of that See, he tells us, that in one of them which he wrote to the Romans, he took notice of St. Clement's Epistle in these words: to day have we kept the Lord's day with all holiness; in which we have read your Epistle, as we shall always continue to read it for our instruction, together with the former written to us by Clement. What that Epistle was of which Dionysius here speaks, as written by the Church of Rome to that of Corinth, and publicly read

(s) Dissert. de Script. Ignat. cap. 10.
(t) Vid. Catal. Bevereg. Codex canon. vindicat. 289.
(u) Canon. 85. (v) Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 38.
(w) Divinat. de Epist. Clem.
(x) Bevereg. Cod. Canon. Vindic. lib. ii. c. 9. § 10. p. 286.
(y) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 23.

in the congregation there, does not appear. Bishop Beveridge, after Wendeline, conceives it to have been that which Clement wrote in the name of that Church to them; and so the former Epistle spoken of by Dionysius, will be this second, written in his own name to the Corinthians, not by the authority of the Roman Church. But this others(z) will by no means allow; they suppose the letter which Dionysius says was read that day among them, to have been some other Epistle, either of Soter, or of the Church of Rome; and make use of this very passage, to prove that they had received but one Epistle from St. Clement, nor knew of any other that had been written by him.

20. And yet Epiphanius(a) expressly tells us, that this Epistle, no less than the foregoing, was in his time wont to be publicly read in the congregation. And though St. Jerome and Photius speak indeed but meanly of it in those places where they seem to deliver the judgment of Eusebius rather than their own opinion; yet upon other occasions(b) they make no exception against the authority of it, but equally ascribe it to St. Clement with the other, of which there is no doubt.

21. Having said thus much concerning these two last pieces, with which the present collection is concluded; I have but this to add, that they are both of them now first of all put into our own language, and presented to the perusal of the English reader: the former from the old Latin version, which is by some(c) much complained of, though by others(d) as stiffly defended: the latter from the original Greek, as it was published by Mr. Patrick Young from the Alexandrian manuscript, the only copy that, for aught appears, does at this day remain of it.

(z) See Dr Grabe Spicileg. tom. 1. page 265.
(a) Hæres. 27. num 6.
(b) See Hieron. adv. Jovin. tom. iii. fol. 12. Photius Cod. 126. in Clem.
(c) Barthius apud Cotelet. not. in Herm. p. 44.
(d) Cotelerius ibid.

22. If any one shall ask how it came to pass that our learned countryman, Mr. Burton, when he set out the former Epistle of St. Clement in English, did not subjoin this to it; the answer which himself (*e*) warrants us to return, is this: that taking what has been said by the antients before mentioned, in the strictest sense, he looked upon this Epistle as a spurious piece, which though it carried the name of St. Clement, was yet truly no more his, than those constitutions and recognitions, which are also published under the same name, but are generally acknowledged to be none of his, as in the prosecution of this discourse I shall take occasion more fully to shew.

23. As for the Epistle itself, I have concluded it somewhat sooner than the Greek, which yet remains of it, does. But that which I have omitted being only an imperfect piece of a sentence, which would have made the conclusion much more abrupt than it is now; I chose rather to add what followed here, than to continue it there. And to make the reader the better amends for this liberty, I have not only subjoined what remains of St. Clement, but have endeavoured to make out the sense of what is wanting in our copy from the other Clement, who seems to have followed this original.

"For the Lord himself being asked by a certain person,(*f*) when his kingdom should come, answered, when two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within; and the male with the female, neither male nor female. Now two are one, when we speak the truth to each other; and there is, (without hypocrisy,) one soul in two bodies. And that which is without as that which is within; he means this; he calls the soul that which is within, and the body that which is without. As therefore thy body appears, so let thy soul be seen by its good works. And the male with the female, neither male nor fe-

(*e*) Burton's Notes upon St. Clement. p. 94.
(*f*) Clem. Rom. ex. mss. Regio.

male;——He means:(*g*) he calls our anger the male, our concupiscence the female. When therefore a man is come to such a pass, that he is subject neither to the one nor the other of these; both of which through the prevalence of custom, and an evil education, cloud and darken the reason; but rather having dispelled the mist arising from them, and being full of shame, shall by repentance have united both his soul and spirit in the obedience of reason; then, as Paul says, there is in us neither male nor female.

CHAPTER IX.

THAT THE PIECES HERE PUT TOGETHER ARE ALL THAT REMAIN OF THE MOST PRIMITIVE AND APOSTOLICAL ANTIQUITY.

That there are several other Treatises pretended to have been written within the compass of this period, but none such as truly come up to it. Of the Epistle of our Saviour Christ to Abgarus, and the occasion of it; that it is not probable that any such letter was written by him. The Epistles ascribed to the Virgin Mary, spurious. So is the Epistle pretended to have been written by St. Paul to the Laodiceans. Of the acts, the gospel, the preaching, and revelations of St. Peter. Of the liturgy attributed to St. Matthew, and the discourse said to have been written by him concerning the nativity of the blessed Virgin. Of the liturgies ascribed to St. Peter, St. Mark, and St. James. Of the gospels attributed to several of the Apostles. Of the Apostles' creed, and the canons called Apostolical. Of the other pieces under the names of St. Clement and St. Ignatius, and particularly of the recognitions and epitome of Clement. Of the History of the life, miracles, and assumption of St. John, pretended to have been written by Prochorus, one of the seven Deacons. Of the histories of St. Peter and St. Paul, ascribed to Linus, Bishop of Rome. Of the lives of the Apostles, attributed to Abdias, Bishop of Babylon. Of the Epistles of St. Martial. Of the Passion of St. Andrew, written by the Presbyters of Achaia. Of the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. That, upon the whole, the pieces here put together, are all that remain of the Apostolical times, after the books of the holy Scripture.

1. HAVING said thus much concerning the several pieces here put together, and the authors of them, it

(*g*) Ex. Clem. Alexandrin.

is time to go on to the other part of this discourse, and consider what may be fit to be observed concerning them all together, as they are now set forth in our own language, in the following collection.

2. Now the first thing that may be fit to be taken notice of is, that the following collection is truly what the title pretends it to be, a full and perfect collection of all the genuine writings that remain to us of the Apostolical Fathers; and carries on the antiquity of the church, from the time of the holy Scripture of the New Testament, to about one hundred and fifty years after Christ.

3. To make this the more evident, it will be necessary for me to consider, what those other writings are which some have endeavoured to raise up into the rank of Apostolical antiquity, and shew that they are indeed writings either of no credit nor authority at all, or at least not of such as they are falsely pretended to be. And to the end I may proceed the more clearly in this inquiry, I will divide the several now to be examined into the three following ranks: the first, of those which are antecedent to any I have here collected, as being pretended to have been written either by our Saviour Christ himself, or by the Virgin Mary, or by the Apostles. The second, of such other tracts as are ascribed to some of those Fathers whose genuine remains I have here put together. And the third, of such pieces as are said to have been written by some other authors who lived in the Apostolical times; and wrote, if we will believe some men, several books much more considerable than any I have here collected.

4 Of the first of these kinds is that pretended letter of our blessed Saviour to Abgarus, king of Edessa, a little city of Arabia,(*h*) a part of which country was subject to him. Now this may seem to be of so much the better credit, in that Eusebius(*i*) tells us that he had himself faithfully translated it out of the Syriac

(*h*) Vid. Annot. Valesii in Euseb. p. 18, 19.
(*i*) Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 13.

language, as he found it in the archives of Edessa. Nor was it long after, that Ephræm,(*k*) a deacon of that church, made mention of this communication between our Saviour and Abgarus, as the occasion of the first conversion of that place; and exhorted his people upon that account, the rather to hold fast to their holy profession, and to live worthy of it. Evagrius(*l*) who wrote about two hundred years after this, not only confirmed all that had been said by both these, but added, from Procopius, several other circumstances, unknown, for aught appears to either of them; particularly, that of the impression which our Saviour had made of his face upon a napkin, and sent to that prince; which he tells us, was of no small advantage to them in the defence of their town against Chosroes, king of Persia, who by this means was hindered from taking of it. How this circumstance came to be added to this relation, or by whom it was first invented I cannot tell. But that both the intercourse reported by Eusebius between our Saviour and this prince, and the report of this picture being brought to him, have been received as a matter of unquestionable truth in those parts, the authority of Gregorius Abulpharius(*m*) will not suffer us to doubt: who in his history published by our learned Dr. Pocock, both recites the letters, and records the story in terms very little different from what the Greek writers before mentioned, have done.

5. And now, since the addition of this new circumstance, to the old account of this matter; it is not to be wondered if the patrons of images among the Greeks, from henceforth contended with all earnestness for the truth of both. Insomuch that we find they instituted a particular festival in memory of it, August the 16th. and transcribed at large the whole history of this adventure into their Menæon, and recited it upon it.

(*k*) Testam. S. Ephræm inter. Oper. p. 788.
(*l*) Evagrii Hist. Eccles. lib iv. cap. 27.
(*m*) Hist. Dynast. Lat. page 71, 72.

6. It is, I suppose, upon the same account that some of our late authors, though they do not care to assert the truth of this story, are yet unwilling to deny all credit to it. Baronius(*o*) reports both the relation and the Epistle from Eusebius, but will not answer for the truth of either. Spondanus(*p*) delivers the same from the Cardinal, that he had done from Eusebius, and passes no censure either one way or other upon it: only in his margent he observes that Gretser, the Jesuit, in his discourse of images, &c. had vindicated the authority of our Saviour's Epistle to Abgarus, from the exceptions of Casaubon in his exercitations upon Baronius against it. Gerard Vossius(*q*) in his scholia upon the testament of St. Ephræm, contents himself to refer us to the authority of the antients for the truth of this relation; who, he pretends, did without controversy look upon it to be authentic. And Valesius himself(*r*) though he plainly enough shews that he was not out of all doubt concerning the truth of this story, yet neither does he utterly reject it; but rather endeavours to rectify those errors that seemed the most considerable in it.

7. But others, even of the Church of Rome, have not observed so much caution in this particular. They roundly stand by the censure of Pope Gelasius(*s*) who pronounced this Epistle of our Saviour's to be Apocryphal: and not only shew by many probable arguments the falseness of it; but what is yet more, pass the same censure upon the story of the image too that Casaubon(*t*) had done, notwithstanding all that Gretser could say in favour of. Natalis Alexander(*u*) delivers this conclusion concerning it: the Epistle of Abgarus to our Saviour, and his answer to

(*o*) Annal Eccl. ann. 31. num. 60.
(*p*) Epitom. Annal. Baron. Annal. 31, num. 22.
(*q*) Annot. ad Oper. Ephræm. Syr. page 796.
(*r*) Annot. in Euseb. hist. Eccles. page 25. a.
(*s*) Apud Gratian. Dist. 15. c. c. Simon hist. Crit. du n. t. chap. iii. page 23.
(*t*) Exercit. in Baron. 13. § 31, page 289.
(*u*) Sæcul. i. vol. i. page 266.

it, are suppositious and apocriphal; and at large answers all that is usually urged in favour of them. And Du Pin(x) after him, yet more solidly convinces it of such manifest errors, as may serve to satisfy all considering persons, that Eusebius and Ephræm were too easy of belief in this particular; and did not sufficiently examine into it, when they delivered that as a certain truth, which from several circumstances appears to have been evidently otherwise.

8. I shall not need to say any thing of the opinions of the learned men of the reformed religion(y) as to this matter, who generally agree in the same censure. But yet seeing both Eusebius and St. Ephræm have spoken with such confidence of this story, whose authority ought not to be lightly esteemed; I shall chuse rather the middle sort,(z) to leave it to every one to judge as he pleases, than determine any thing in this case. And that they may the better do it, I will subjoin at length the two Epistles, as they are rendered by Eusebius from the original Syriac into Greek; and from him translated into our own tongue.

THE EPISTLE OF ABGARUS TO OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR.

9. "Abgarus Prince of Edessa, to Jesus the good Saviour, who has appeared in the country about Jerusalem, Health. I have received an account of thee, and thy cures, how without any medicines or herbs they are done by thee. For report says, that thou makest the blind to see, the lame to walk; that thou cleansest the lepers, and castest out unclean spirits and devils, and healest those who have laboured under long diseases, and raisest up the dead. And having heard all this concerning thee, I have concluded

(x) Nouvelle Bibl. vol. i. page 1.

(y) Vid apud Basnagium Exercit. hist. Crit. in Baron. ad ann. 43, num. 18, page 430.

(z) Casaubon. Exerc, in Baron. 13, page 289. Montacutius Orig. Eccles. tom. i. part. 2, page 63. Cav. hist. literaria, § i. p. 1, in Jesu Christo.

with myself one of these two things; either that thou art God, and that being come down from heaven, thou doest all these mighty works; or that thou art the Son of God, seeing thou art able to perform such things. Wherefore by this present letter I entreat thee to come unto me, and to cure me of the infirmity that lies upon me. For I have also heard that the Jews murmur against thee, and seek to do thee mischief. For I have a small but fair city, which may be sufficient both for thee and me."

THE ANSWER OF OUR SAVIOUR TO ABGARUS.

10. Abgarus, thou art blessed, in that though thou hast not seen me, thou hast yet believed in me. For it is written concerning me, that those who have seen me should not believe in me, that so they who have not seen me, might believe and live. As for what thou hast written unto me, that I should come to thee, it is necessary that all those things for which I was sent, should be fulfilled by me in this place: and that having fulfilled them, I should be received up to him that sent me. When therefore I shall be received into Heaven, I will send unto thee some one of my disciples, who shall both heal thy distemper, and give life to thee, and to those that are with thee."

11. Having said thus much concerning this pretended intercourse between our Saviour Christ and this Prince, I should in the next place mention the letters ascribed to his mother, the blessed Virgin Mary, but that there is not the least shadow of truth to give credit to them; nor any arguments brought in favour of them, that may deserve a refutation. I shall therefore say nothing to these, but pass on without any more ado, to those pieces which have been attributed either to some particular Apostle or Evangelist; or else are pretended to have been composed by the whole college of the Apostles together.

12. Of the former kind is the Epistle of St. Paul

to the Laodiceans, set out by Hutter in his Polyglott New Testament, and inserted by Sixtus Senensis into his Bibliotheque,(a) together with the other Epistles that are in like manner pretended, though without any just ground, to have passed between the same Apostle and Seneca the philosopher. Now that which gave occasion to the forging of such an Epistle was, that St. Paul himself seems to speak, Coloss. iv. 16, as if he had written an Epistle to that Church. For having commanded the Colossians when they should have read the Epistle which he wrote to them, to cause it to be read in the Church of the Laodiceans; he adds, that they likewise should read the Epistle from Laodicea. But not to mention that St. Paul's words may be understood of an Epistle written from Laodicea,(b) (as Theophylact(c) thinks the first Epistle to Timothy; which nevertheless, I suppose, was written after that to the Colossians;) or of an Epistle written by the Apostle to some other Church, but ordered to be communicated to the Laodiceans; as the second Epistle to the Corinthians was directed, not only to that one place, but to all the Churches of Achaia, 2 Cor. i. 4. and as in the very passage under debate, the Epistle to the Colossians is ordered to be sent to the Laodiceans, and to be read in the Church there: I say, not to insist upon these explications, there are reasons sufficient to induce one to believe that the Epistle to the Ephesians, as it now is, and was very early intituled, was originally inscribed to the Laodiceans; this at least is sure, that it is so called by Marcion, who though a rank heretic, and reproved by Tertullian as a falsifier of the title of an Apostolical Epistle, yet in a matter of this nature, may be admitted to give his evidence; especially considering that he lived within three-score years after this Epistle was written.

(a) Bibl. Sanct. lib. ii. in Paulo. Add. Frassenium Disq. Biblic. page 731, &c.

(b) So Chrysostom and Theodoret.

(c) Theophylact in loc.

13. But to suppose that this Epistle was primarily written to the Ephesians, yet this does not hinder but that St. Paul might have ordered it to be communicated, as to other Churches, so in particular to that of Laodicea; and from thence to be sent on to the Colossians; which as I have before observed, will sufficiently answer all that can be collected from the passage produced out of his Epistle to them. Now that which favours this conjecture is, that Ephesus was in those days looked upon, even in the civil account of the empire, as the chief city and metropolis of Lesser Asia. Here it was that the Emperors(*d*) ordered their edicts relating to that province, to be published; in like manner, as we find in several laws of the Theodosian Code,(*e*) that they were wont to be proposed at Rome for Italy, and at Carthage for Africa. Here the common councils of Asia assembled: and to name no more, here the public sports, and sacred rites, &c.(*f*) that concerned the whole community of that province, were usually transacted. Hence St. Chrystosome(*g*) calls it, in express terms, the metropolis of Asia; and in the order of the Metropolitan Churches,(*h*) it is accordingly stiled the first, and most honourable of Asia.

14. And much greater was the respect which it had with relation to Ecclesiastical matters; both as it was a Church founded by St. Paul,(*i*) and as it was the seat of the beloved disciple St John, who continued there to the very time of Trajan, above 100 years after Christ. Hence Tertullian(*k*) directing those who were desirous to know what the true faith of Christ was, to inquire among the chiefest Churches in every part, what had been delivered to them, and was the faith received and taught amongst them;

(*d*) Vid. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib iv c. 13.
(*e*) Vid. Annot. Vales. in Euseb. page 60. a.
(*f*) Vid. Obs. Menag. in Diog. Laert. page 23, b. Edit. 4.
(*g*) Arg. in Epist. ad Ephes. (*h*) Ad calcem Codini.
(*i*) Acts xviii. 19. xix. 1, 10.
(*k*) Tertull. de Præscript. cap. xxxvi. page 215.

bids them if they were in Italy go to Rome; if in Achaia, to Corinth; if in Macedonia, to Philippi; if in Asia, to Ephesus: insomuch that, as Evagrius tells us,(*l*) the Bishop of Ephesus had a Patriarchal power within the diocese of Asia, until the time of the fourth general council. And long after that, Theodorus Bishop of this See, subscribing to the acts of the sixth general council, calls himself Bishop of Ephesus, the metropolis of the province of Asia. And even in the times of which we are now discoursing, St. John writing to the seven Churches of Asia, (of which Laodicea was one) places Ephesus(*m*) at the head of them as that which had the precedence of all the rest in those parts.

15. Nor is it any small confirmation of this opinion, that when St. Paul passed through Asia to Jerusalem, we read, Acts 20. that having not time to go himself to Ephesus, he ordered the Elders of that Church to meet him at Miletus, and there gave his last charge to them. Now who those Elders were we are plainly told, v. 28. They were the Bishops of that Church. But it is certain, that in those days there was but one Bishop, properly so called, in a Church at one time: and therefore these could not be the Bishops of that city alone,(*n*) but must have been rather the Bishop of Ephesus, together with the Bishops of the other neighbouring Churches within that district: and it was probably Timothy, who now came at the head of them. And what kind of Bishop he was. St. Paul's Epistles will not suffer us to doubt: he was indeed a Bishop over other Bishops; the first, to say no more, of all the Bishops in those parts.

16. Seeing then such was the prerogative, which the Church of Ephesus had from the beginning, over all the other Churches of the Asian diocese; and that St. Paul himself had first planted Christianity there: and seeing it appears from the command which he

(*l*) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. vi. page 339
(*m*) Rev. i. 11. ii. 1. (*n*) Irenæus, lib. iii. c. 14.

gave to the Colossians, chap. iv. 16. to cause the Epistle which he had written to them, to be read in the Church of the Laodiceans, that he was wont to order the Epistles which he wrote to one Church, to be sent to, and read in the others that were near unto it: seeing, lastly, we are told both by Tertullian and Epiphanius (*o*) that the Epistle to the Ephesians, was anciently called by some the Epistle to the Laodiceans; I think it may not be improbable, but that by the Epistle from Laodicea, he may have meant the Epistle which he wrote to the Ephesians, (*p*) at the same time, and by the same person that he wrote to the Colossians; and which being from them communicated to the Laodiceans, might be ordered by St Paul to be sent on to the Colossians, who were a neighbour Church to Laodicea, and afterwards subject to it as their Metropolitane.

17. But whatever becomes of this conjecture; whether by the Epistle from Laodicea we are to understand some Epistle written from that place, and that either by St. Paul to some other Church or person, or by the Laodiceans to him; (*q*) or whether we are to understand by it some Epistle that was to be communicated from thence to the Colossians, which seems to me the more probable, and particularly that which he wrote by Tychicus to the Ephesians, at the same time that he wrote by him to the Colossians: certain it is that the Epistle now extant under that title is none of St. Paul's writing; but is made up of several parcels of his genuine Epistles, and the expressions contained in them.

18. It would be endless to insist upon all the other spurious pieces of the like kind that have been attributed to this great Apostle. It is sufficient to observe,

(*o*) Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. v. c. xvii. page 481. Epiphan. Hæres. xlii. num xii.

(*p*) Vid. L'Histoire Critique de Monsieur Simon sur le N. T. c. xv. p. 116. See Dr. Mill's Prolegom. ad. N. T. p. ix.

(*q*) Frassenius Disq. Biblic. page 730, 731.

that neither Eusebius,(r) nor St. Jerome(s) knew any thing more of his writing than what we have in those Epistles that are still extant in our Bibles under his name, except it were the Epistle to the Hebrews; which though doubted of by some in the primitive Church, is yet ascribed to him by Eusebius, who expressly accounts 14 of his Epistles, and speaks of that to the Hebrews as his; though he adds, that being not received by the Church of Rome, it was by some suspected whether it were indeed the true Epistle of St. Paul.

19. But much greater is the authority of those suppositious pieces which the same Eusebius tells us were,(t) even in those days, attributed to that other great Apostle, St. Peter, viz. the Acts, the Gospel, the preaching, and the Revelations of St. Peter. Nevertheless, seeing he at the same time declares that they were not Catholic, nor universally received; and since from other Ecclesiastical writers it may be proved that some of them were wholly composed, and others interpolated by heretics, the better to gain thereby credit to their doctrine; how antient soever they may otherwise be, yet they will not fall within the compass of the present collection: nor indeed is there any thing of them remaining to us, except the names; and a few fragments, scattered up and down in the quotations that have been made by Ecclesiastical writers out of them.

20. To these let me add in the third place, the discourses ascribed to St. Matthew,(u) the first of the Evangelists. Two books there are still remaining under his name; a liturgy pretended to have been composed by him, and a discourse concerning the nativity of the blessed Virgin: but both rejected by learned men, as the works of some impostor, many

(r) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 3.
(s) Hieron. de Script. Eccles. in S. Paulo
(t) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 3 & 25. Com. Hieron. in Catal. Script. Eccles. in S. Petro.
(u) Vid. Cave Hist. literar. p. 9. Natal. Alex. § 1, vol. 1. page 85. Du Pin. Bibl. vol. 1, page 21.

ages after the death of that holy Apostle. As for the Liturgies ascribed, in like manner, to some others of the Apostles, namely, to St. Peter, St. Mark, and St. James; there is not, I suppose, any learned man at this day, who believes them to have been written by those holy men, and set forth in the manner that they are now published. They were indeed the antient liturgies of the three, if not of the four Patriarchal Churches, viz. the Roman (perhaps that of Antioch too) the Alexandrian and Jerusalem Churches, first founded, or at least governed by St. Peter, St. Mark, and St. James. However, since it can hardly be doubted but that those holy Apostles and Evangelists did give some directions for the administration of the blessed Eucharist in those Churches; it may reasonably be presumed that some of those orders are still remaining in those Liturgies which have been brought down to us under their names; and that those prayers wherein they all agree, (in sense at least, if not in words) were first prescribed in the same, or like terms, by those Apostles and Evangelists; nor would it be difficult to make a farther proof of this conjecture from the writings of the antient Fathers, if it were needful, in this place, to insist upon it.

21. For what concerns the Gospels set out under the names of several of the Apostles, though some of them are very antient, yet is it generally agreed among the most judicious of all sides, that they were not only not written by those holy persons, but were for the most part set out by suspected authors, and for ill ends after their deaths.

22. As for the writings of the whole college of Apostles; two pieces there are, besides the Synodical letter spoken of by St. Luke, Acts xv. 23. which not only go under their names, but have been by some ascribed to them, as the authors of them. And those are, first the creed; and secondly, the Canons of the Apostles.

23. For the former of these, the Apostles' Creed,

it has been thought by many that it was so called, not only as being a summary of the Apostles' doctrine, but because it was really composed by them; and that either in their first assembly after our Lord's resurrection, Acts i. or else immediately before their dispersion, upon the breaking out of Herod's persecution, Acts xii. which Baronius and others esteem the more probable. It is not my intention to enter on any particular examination of this matter, which has been so fully handled, not only by the late critics of the Church of Rome, Natalis Alexander,(x) Du Pin, &c.(y) but yet more especially by Archbishop Usher(z) Gerrard Vossius,(a) Suicer,(b) Spanhemius,(c) Tentzelius,(d) and Sam. Basnage,(e) among the Protestants. It shall suffice to say, that as it is not likely, that had any such thing as this been done by the Apostles, St. Luke would have passed it by, without taking the least notice of it; so the diversity of creeds in the antient Church; and that not only in expression, but in some whole articles too, sufficiently shews, that the creed which we call by that name, was not composed by the twelve Apostles, much less in the same form in which it now is; although the articles of it(f) may for the most part have been delivered by the Apostles to their first converts, much in the same order that they now stand, and have been by them confessed at their baptism and on other occasions.

26. But much less is it probable that the Canons yet extant under their name, were truly compiled by them, but rather as our late pious and learned Bp. Beveredge has shewn,(g) were a collection of the Canons

(x) Nat. Alex. § 1, vol. 1. page 490, &c.
(y) Du Pin, Biblioth. Eccles. vol. 1, page 25, &c.
(z) Diatrib. de Symb.
(a) Voss. Dissert de tribus Symbolis.
(b) Suicer Thesaur. Eccles. to. ii. Voce ὁμόλογον p. 1036, &c
(c) Spanhem Introd ad Hist. Eccles. § ii c. 3.
(d) Ernest. Tentzel, exercit. select exercit, 1
(e) Sam. Basnage exercit. hist crit. ad ann. 44, num. 17, 18.
(f) See Dr. Grabe. Annot to Bp. Bull's judic. Cath Eccles. c vi.
(g) Annot. in Pandect. Canon, Oxon. to. ii. p. 1. id. Codex Can. Vindicat. c. 11, &c.

made by the councils of the first ages, put together at several times, and finished as we now see them, within 300 years after Christ, before the assembling of the general council of Nice. This is the earliest date that is at present ascribed to them by the most judicious writers of the Roman communion,(*h*) as well as of the reformed religion; and some there are(*i*) who will by no means allow them to be so antient, as even this opinion supposes them to be.

27. It is evident then, that except the holy Scriptures, there is nothing remaining of the truly genuine Christian antiquity, more early than those pieces I have here put together. Nor have the authors, whose tracts I have now set forth, any other pieces yet remaining, besides those that appear in the following collection. Indeed for what concerns two of the Fathers here mentioned, St. Clement and St. Ignatius; several treatises there are, and some that may seem much more considerable than any I have subjoined, that have been sent abroad under the authority of their names, but which are at present universally acknowledged by all learned men not to have been written by them. Such are the constitutions and recognitions of St. Clement; the collection called from the same Father, the Clementines; the epitome of Clement; and the other Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, besides the seven here set out; which alone were either mentioned by Eusebius, or known to the Church for some ages after.(*k*)

28. I shall not here enter upon any particular inquiry when these several pieces were first sent abroad into the world; or how it came to pass that some even

(*h*) Vid. Albaspin. obs. lib. 1. c. 13, page 28 De Marca apud Bevereg. Annot. in Pandect. page 4. num. xii. Coteler. Not. in Patr. Apostol. page 527, 528. Du Pin Bibl. Eccles. tom. 1, page 36. Natal. Alex. § 1 vol. ii page 1.8.

(*i*) Daille de Pseudep. Apostol. lib. iii. Larroque Observat. in Bevereg. Hoornbeck Theolog. Patr. page 35, &c.

(*k*) See this discussed at large by Bishop Usher Dissert. ad Ignat. cap. v, vi, xix. page 2.

among the antients themselves(*l*) received several of them for the genuine writings of these holy men; only corrupted, as many others were, by the heretics, of those first times, the better to give some colour to their errors. I will only observe, that the recognitions of St. Clement, not only the most learned, but the most antient too of any of these, as near as we can guess, were not set forth until about the middle of the second century, and are rejected by Eusebius(*m*) as none of his, but as one of those many impostures which were even then published under his name. And for the rest, though some of them have been antient too, yet it is evident that none of them come up to the period of which I am now speaking, nor even to the age of the recognitions before mentioned.(*n*)

29. As for the epitome of St. Clement, Cotelerius(*o*) esteems it to have been yet later than any of the rest. Perhaps it was collected by Metaphrastes, whom I take to have been the author of the martyrdom of that holy man, set out by Surius(*p*) and Allatius(*q*) and reprinted by Cotelerius at the end of the works ascribed to St. Clement. This is certain, that it was composed in some of the latter ages, as was also the account of the miracle pretended to have been wrought at his martyrdom, which goes under the name of Ephræm, Archbishop of Cherson; where (if Du Pin(*r*) be not mistaken) there never was any. And this Cotelerius seems to have been aware of, and therefore in his annotations upon this relation, calls

(*l*) Epiphan. Hæres. 30. Ruffinus de Adulterat. libr. Origen. Tract 35, in Marthæum, Author Oper. Imperfect. in Marth. inter. Oper. Chrysost. ad Mat. 10, & 24.

(*m*) Vid Coteler. Not. in Script. pp. Apost. page 343. Natal. Alex. § i. tom. i page 126. Du Pin Bibl. vol. i page 80, 81.

(*n*) Coteler Annot. in Script. pp. Apost. page 113. A. 115. D. 403 A. 431. C. D. Sixt. Senens Biblioth. lib. ii. in Clement. Possevin. Apparat. page 328. Bellarm. de Script. § i. in Clement. Natal. Alex § i. tom. i. page 129 Id. ibid. cap. de St. Ignat. page 139. Du Pin Biblioth. page 81, 83, 102, &c.

(*o*) Notæ in Script. pp. Apost. page 431. c. d.

(*p*) Surius ad Nov. xxiii.

(*q*) Allatius in Diatrib. de Symeonum Scriptis.

(*r*) Du Pin Biblioth. tom. i. page 89, 1.

him Archbishop, or Bishop of Cherson. Now that there was such a Bishop, appears both from the antient Notitiæ of the province of Europe(*s*) under the Patriarch of Constantinople; and from the subscription which Peter(*t*) Bishop of this place made to the Council of Chalcedon, for Cyriacus Archbishop of Heraclea, in whose province that See lay. And the disposition of Leo the 6th(*u*) made towards the latter end of the 9th century, mentions it among the Archbishoprics subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople; to which degree therefore about that time, or not long before, it seems to have been raised.

30. There is nothing then in any of those pieces which make up the rest of Cotelerius's collection, (and are indeed all that still remain under the names of those Fathers of which we are now speaking) that can with any good grounds be relied upon as the genuine products of those holy men. Let us see in the last place, whether any of those discourses which have been sent abroad under the names of some others of the Apostolical Fathers, may deserve to be received by us, as coming truly from them.

31. And here I shall in the first place take it for granted, that what those who are usually the most fond of such spurious pieces, (I mean the writers of the Church of Rome) have yet almost unanimously rejected as false and counterfeit, may securely be laid aside by us, without any farther inquiry into the condition of them. Such are the history of the life, miracles, and assumption of St. John; pretended to have been written by Prochorus his disciple, and one of the seven Deacons, chosen by the Church of Jerusalem, Acts vi. the histories of St. Peter and St. Paul, said to have been written by Linus, one of the first Bishops of Rome: the lives of the Apostles, ascribed to Abdias Bishop of Babylon, and supposed to have

(*s*) Vid. Geogr. Sacr. S. Paulo, page 11, 43.
(*t*) Ibid. page 233. in Chersoneso.
(*u*) Vid Jus Græco-Rom. Francofort. a. 1596, par. i. pag. 88.

been written by him in the Hebrew tongue: the Epistles of St Martial, who is said to have been one of the 70 disciples appointed by our Saviour, and one of the first preachers of the Gospel in France. These are all so evidently spurious, that even Natalis Alexander(x) himself was ashamed to undertake the defence of them; and not only he but all the other writers of the same Church, Baronius, Bellarmine, Sixtus Senensis, Possevine, Espencæus, Bisciola, Labbe, &c. have freely acknowledged the little credit that is to be given to them.

32. But two pieces there are which Alexander is still unwilling to part with; though he cannot deny but that the most learned men, even of his own communion, have at last agreed in the rejecting of them. And those are the passion of St. Andrew, written (as is pretended) by the Presbyters of Achaia; and the works set out under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite.

33. As for the former of these, I confess there have not been wanting many from the 8th century downwards, who have undertaken the defence of it. Etherius(y) mentioned it about the year 788. Remegius after: Peter Damian, Lanfranc, and St. Bernard, still later. And in this last age Baronius, Bellarmine, Labbe, and a few others, have yet more endeavoured to establish its authority. But then, as Du Pin(z) well observes, we do not find that the antients knew of any acts of St. Andrew in particular; nor are the acts we now have, quoted by any before the time of Etherius before mentioned. And yet how they could have escaped the search of the primitive Fathers, had they been extant in their days, it is hard to imagine.

34. But much less is the credit that ought to be giv-

(x) Eccles. Hist. § i. tom. i. page 95, 115.
(y) Vid. Natal. Alex. § i. tom. i. page 109. Labbe de Script. Eccles. tom. i. page 3, &c.
(z) Nouvelle Biblioth. tom. i. page 47, 48.

en to the pretended works of Dionysius the Areopagite; which as Alexander(a) confesses, two very great critics(b) of his own communion, to have denied to have been written by that holy man; so has a third(c) very lately given such reasons to shew that the writings, now extant under his name, could not have been composed by him, as ought to satisfy every considering person of their imposture. For not to say any thing of what occurs every where in those discourses, utterly disagreeable to the state of the Church in the time that Dionysius lived: can it be imagined that if such considerable books as these had been written by him, none of the antients of the first four centuries should have heard any thing of them? or shall we say that they did know of them, as well as the Fathers that lived after, and yet made no mention of them, though they had so often occasion to have done it, as Eusebius and St. Jerome, not to name any others, had?

35. In short, one of the first times that we hear of them, is in the dispute between the Severians and Catholics about the year 532, when the former produced them in favour of their errors, and the latter rejected them as books utterly unknown to all antiquity, and therefore not worthy to be received by them.

36. It is therefore much to be wondered, that after so many arguments as have been brought to prove how little right these treatises have to such a primitive antiquity; nevertheless, not only Natalis Alexander, but a man of much better judgment, I mean Emanuel Schelstrat,(d) the late learned keeper of the Vatican library, should still undertake the defence of them. When they were written, or by what author, is very

(a) Natal. Alex. § i. vol. i. page 136. Labbe de Script. tom. i. in Dionysio.

(b) He might have added several others; see Bellarm. de Script. page 26

(c) Du Pin Novelle Biblioth tom i page 90.

(d) Vid. Cave Hist. lit. § iv. page 177.

uncertain: but as Bishop Pearson(*e*) supposes them to have been first set forth about the latter end of Eusebius's life, so Dr. Cave(*f*) conjectures, that the elder Apollinarius may very probably have been the author of them. Others there are(*g*) who place them yet later, and suspect Pope Gregory the great to have had a hand in the forgery. And indeed the arguments which our very learned Mr. Dodwell(*h*) brings to prove that they were originally written by one of the Roman Church, are not without their just weight. But whatever becomes of this, thus much is certain, that these books were not written before the middle of the 4th century, and therefore are without the compass of the present undertaking.

37. And now having taken such a view as was necessary for the present design, of all those other pieces which have been obtruded upon the world for Apostolical writings, besides what is either here collected, or has been before published in the sacred books of the New Testament; I suppose I may with good grounds conclude, that the little I have now put together, is all that can with any certainty be depended upon, of the most primitive Fathers: and therefore that from these, next to the holy Scriptures, we must be content to draw the best account we can of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, for the first hundred years after the death of Christ.

(*e*) Vindic. Ignat. part i. c. 10.
(*f*) Loc. supr. cit.
(*g*) Daille apud Pearson. loc. supr. cit.
(*h*) Dodwell de Sacerdot. Laicor. cap. viii. § iii. page 389.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE FOLLOWING TREATISES, AND THE DEFERENCE THAT OUGHT TO BE PAID TO THEM UPON THE ACCOUNT OF IT.

This is shewn from the following considerations:—1. That the authors of them were contemporary with the Apostles, and instructed by them. 2. They were men of an eminent character in the Church; and therefore to be sure such as could not be ignorant of what was taught in it. 3. They were very careful to preserve the doctrine of Christ in its purity, and to oppose such as went about to corrupt it. 4. They were men not only of a perfect piety, but of great courage and constancy; and therefore such as cannot be suspected to have had any design to prevaricate in this matter. 5. They were endued with a large portion of the holy Spirit, and as such, could hardly err in what they delivered as a necessary part of the Gospel of Christ. And 6. Their writings were approved by the Church in those days, which could not be mistaken in its approbation of them.

BUT secondly, and to proceed yet farther: the following collection pretends to a just esteem, not only upon the account of its perfection, as it is an entire collection of what remains to us of the Apostolical Fathers, but yet much more from the respect that is due to the authors themselves, whose writings are here put together.

2. If first, we consider them as the contemporaries of the holy Apostles, some of them bred up under our Saviour Christ himself, and the rest instructed by those great men whom he commissioned to go forth and preach to all the world,(*i*) and endued with an extraordinary assistance of his blessed spirit for doing of it:(*k*) we cannot doubt but that what they deliver to us, must be, without controversy, the pure doctrine of the Gospel; what Christ and his Apostles taught, and what they had themselves received from their own mouths. This is the last deference we can pay to the authors here set forth, to look upon them as the faithful deliverers of the doctrine and practice

(*i*) Mat. xxviii. 19 Mark xvi. 15.
(*k*) Luke xxiv. 49. Acts i. 8. Acts ii.

of the Church in those most early times; when heresies were not as yet so openly broke out in it, nor the true faith so dangerously corrupted with the mixture of those erroneous opinions, which afterwards more fatally infected the minds of men, and divided the Church into so many opposite parties and factions. So that here then we may read with security, and let me add, with respect too: and not doubt but that what these holy men deliver to us, in all the fundamental articles of it, is as certainly the true doctrine of Christ, as if we had received it like them, from our Saviour and his Apostles.

3. But secondly, the authors of the following pieces had not only the advantage of living in the Apostolical times, of hearing the holy Apostles, and conversing with them, but were most of them persons of a very eminent character in the Church too; men raised up to the highest pitch of dignity and authority, in some of the most famous Churches of the world, chosen by the Apostles to preside in their own proper Sees; at Rome, at Antioch, at Smyrna; one of them set apart by the express command of the holy Ghost, to be the companion of St. Paul in his work of the ministry; and the rest for the most part commended for their rare endowments, in the inspired writings of the holy Scriptures delivered to us. And therefore we may be sure that such men as these must needs have been very carefully instructed in the mystery of the Gospel, and have had a most perfect knowledge of faith as it is in Jesus.

4. Had they been some ordinary and obscure writers, even of the Apostolical times, men of no note, no authority in the Church; though still whilst we had a good account of their integrity, the very advantage of the age wherein they lived, would have rendered their discourses justly venerable to us, yet should we not perhaps have been obliged to pay such a deference to their writings, as not to make allowance for some lesser defects, or mistakes, that might have hap-

pened to them. But having to do with men, not only instructed in common by the Apostles, with the other Christians of those days, but particularly bred up, and instituted by them for the work of the ministry: having here the writings of men who had attained to such a perfect knowledge in the mystery of godliness, and were judged to have been so well grounded and settled in it, as to deserve to be raised up by the Apostles themselves to the government of such eminent Churches as those over which these holy men were overseers; it is plain that we cannot with any reason doubt of what they deliver to us, as the Gospel of Christ; but ought to receive it, if not with equal veneration, yet but with a little less respect than we do the sacred writings of those who were their masters and instructors.

5. Yet farther, thirdly: the following authors were not only such eminent men, and bred up under such mighty advantages, and so well instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel, as I have now observed; but they were moreover persons of a consummated piety, adorned with all those Christian virtues they so affectionately recommend to us. But especially, they were zealous watchmen over their Churches; careful to instruct them in the true faith and doctrine of Christ, and no less careful to preserve them against the contagion of those heresies, which even in their days began to corrupt the purity of it. Hence we read with what a holy zeal that blessed martyr Ignatius first, and then his fellow disciple St. Polycarp, set themselves against those who would instil some other doctrines into the minds of their people, than what the Apostles had delivered unto them: what wise directions they gave them for the discovery of such false teachers;(*l*) and how earnestly they exhorted them by keeping firm to their respective Bishops and Presbyters, and to the Apostolical doctrine delivered

(*l*) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 35.

by them, to prevent their gaining any advantage against them.

6. With what assurance do they deliver the doctrine which they had received? how confidently do they declare it to be the true doctrine of Christ? and exhort the Churches to whom they write, nor give any heed to such as would insinuate any other doctrine into their minds? and how did they themselves shew them by their own examples, how they should avoid such persons? insomuch that Irenæus(*m*) tells us, that if St. Polycarp at any time chanced to hear any one deliver any other doctrine than what he had been taught, he did not only not give any countenance to such a one; but was wont to stop his ears at him, and cried out with astonishment and grief, *good God! to what times hast thou reserved me, that I shall endure this?* nay he would not tarry in the same place with such a person, but would leave the house, if he knew that any heretics were in it.

7. But of the care which these holy men had to keep close in every the least circumstance to the doctrine and practice of the Apostles, we cannot, I think, desire a fairer instance to convince us, than what Eusebius(*n*) has recorded of the same blessed martyr. How that hearing of the difference between the Eastern and Western Churches about the time of keeping Easter, he thought it worthy his pains, at an extreme old age, to take a journey as far as Rome for the composing of it. And notwithstanding all that Anicetus, who was then Bishop of that Church, could say to move him from his practice; yet having this ground for it, that St. John was wont to keep Easter as he did, the good man held close to it; and would not hear of changing a custom, which that blessed Apostle had delivered to him.

8. And when such was the care which these holy writers had of holding fast, even to the least particu-

(*m*) Epist. ad Florinum, apud Euseb. hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 20.
(*n*) Euseb. hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 26.

far of what they received from the Apostles, that they would not comply with the rest of the Church in such an indifferent matter, only because by so doing they should depart from the practice of one of them; surely we may with confidence depend upon the doctrine which they deliver, as most pure and genuine; what our Saviour taught his Apostles, and his Apostles them. And what Irenæus(o) once said of his master Polycarp, we may with equal truth and assurance apply to all the rest of those Fathers, whose treatises I have here put together; that they taught evermore what they had received from the Apostles, which also they delivered to the Church, and which only is the true doctrine of Christ.

9. To this general piety of their lives, and care for the truth and purity of their religion; let me add fourthly, their courage and constancy in the maintaining of it. How great this was I have already shewn, in the particular accounts which I have given of the several Fathers whose writings are here subjoined. It shall suffice in this place to observe, that the most of them, after having spent their lives in a careful administration of the great charges to which they were called, were at last made perfect by martyrdom, and underwent the most exquisite cruelties with a courage and constancy, worthy both of the religion they professed, and of the eminent characters which they had obtained in the Church.

10. Now though this does not immediately argue the purity of their doctrine, yet being added to what I have before observed, it will give us a new ground to rely upon the truth of what they deliver. For since we cannot reasonably doubt but that such persons as these, must needs have known what the doctrine of the Apostles was, and have been perfectly instructed in that religion which they were esteemed able and worthy to preach to others; we have in this a clear

(o) Iren. adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.

demonstration of their integrity both in their teaching and writing of it; and must conclude that they who lived such excellent lives, and took so much pains in the ministry of the Gospel; who stuck with such firmness to it, notwithstanding all the endeavours of their enemies to the contrary; and chose rather to undergo the most bitter deaths than they would in any wise depart from it; have doubtless dealt most uprightly in this matter, and delivered nothing to us but what they took for the true doctrine of Christ, and what therefore we may conclude undoubtedly was so.

11. Such good reason have we upon all these accounts to look upon the writings of these holy men, as containing the pure and uncorrupted doctrine of our blessed saviour and his Apostles. But now, fifthly, and to advance yet higher: these writers were not only thus qualified by these ordinary means, to deliver the Gospel of Christ to us, but in all probability were endued with the extraordinary assistance of the Holy Spirit too. So that what they teach us, is not to be looked upon as a mere traditionary relation of what had been delivered to them, but rather as an authoritative declaration of the Gospel of Christ to us; though indeed as much inferior to that of the Apostles and Evangelists, as both their gifts and their commission were inferior to theirs.

12. For first, that the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit with which the Apostles were endued, and which the holy Scriptures(*p*) themselves tell us were in those days distributed to other believers as well as unto them; continued still in the Church after their departure, we have the express testimony of Justin Martyr,(*q*) one of the most antient writers after those I have here subjoined, to assure us. They were com-

(*p*) See 1 Cor. iv. 12. Ephes i. 6, &c. Acts viii. 14, 17 xix 6, &c

(*q*) Vid. Euseb. hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 15. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 308.

municated not only to men, but women.(r) And that we may be sure he spake nothing in this matter but what he could undeniably have made out, we find him boasting of it against Trypho the Jew, and urging it as an unanswerable argument in behalf of Christianity, and against the Jews, from whom these gifts had a long time been departed. And even in the Fathers, whose writings are here put together, there appear sufficient indications of the continuance of these extraordinary powers.

13. This St. Clement(s) manifestly declares in his first Epistle to the Corinthians: he tells us that some in that Church not only had such gifts, but were even proud and conceited upon the account of them. Let a man, says he, have faith, *i. e.* such a faith by which he is able to work miracles;(t) let him be powerful to utter mystical knowledge; (for to that his expression manifestly refers;) let him be wise in discerning of speeches; another gift common in those times: but still, says he, by how much the more he seems to excel others, viz. upon the account of these extraordinary endowments, by so much the more will it behove him to be humble minded, and to seek what is profitable to all men, and not to his own advantage. And St. Ignatius not only supposes(u) that such gifts might be in others, but plainly intimates that he himself(x) was endued with a large portion of them.

14. Which being so, we cannot doubt (secondly) but that, as it was most reasonable, both the Apostles were careful to set those in the chiefest places of honour and authority in their several Churches, who were the most eminent for these gifts; and that God was also pleased to grant to such persons a more than ordinary portion of the holy Spirit, for the better discharge of those eminent places to which they were called.

(r) Ibid. page 315. (s) See below, c. xlviii.
(t) Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. i. p. 30.
(u) See his salutation to the Smyrnæans.
(x) Epist. to the Philadelph. § vii. To the Trallians, § v.

15. Concerning the former of these, we are told by St. Paul, Acts vi. that when the Apostles thought it necessary to establish a new order of ministers in the Church, that might take care of those things which they who were of a higher rank could not find leisure to attend to, though their ministry were of the lowest order, and which required much lesser capacities in those who were to discharge it than theirs whose business it was to govern and instruct the Church of Christ, yet they particularly laid it down to the brethren, as one of the qualifications that was to be required in those whom they chose for that purpose, that they should be men well approved of, full of the Holy Spirit and of wisdom, v. 3. And of one of them, viz. St. Stephen, it is particularly observed, v. 8. That he was full of power, and did signs and great wonders among the people. And when the Jews disputed against him, we read, v. 10. That they were not able to stand against the wisdom and spirit by which he spake.

16. Now if such were the care which they took in the choice of those who were to be admitted into the lowest ministry of the Church, we cannot doubt but that they were certainly much more careful not to admit any into the highest ranks of honour and authority in it, but what were in a yet more eminent manner endued with the same gifts. Hence St. Clement(*y*) tells us that the Apostles did prove by the Spirit the first fruits of their conversions, and out of them set Bishops and Pastors over such as should believe. By which we must understand one of these two things, and very probably they were both meant by it: either that the Apostles made use of their own extraordinary gift of the Spirit (one use(*z*) of which was to discern and try the spirits of others) in choosing persons fitly qualified for the work of the ministry; or else, that by the extraordinary gifts of those whom they pitched upon, they perceived that they were worthy of such

(*y*) Clem. Epist. numb. xliii, xliv. (*z*) 1 Cor. xii. 10. Heb. iv. 12.

an employ, and therefore chose them out for it. And the other Clement(*a*) yet more plainly speaks the same thing: that St. John being returned from his banishment in Patmos, went about the country near unto Ephesus, both to form and settle Churches where he saw occasion, and to admit into the order of the Clergy, such as were marked out to him by the Spirit.

17. And then for the other thing observed, it is clear that the very imposition of hands, did in those days confer the holy Spirit in an extraordinary manner, upon those who were ordained to the ministry of the Gospel. This St. Paul intimates to Timothy, where he exhorts him to stir up, το χαρισμα, the gift, *i. e.* the extraordinary power of the holy Spirit, which, says he, is in thee by the imposition of my hands, 2 Tim. i. 6. And would you know how this ceremony of setting him apart for such a service came to endue him with such an extraordinary power? the same Apostle will tell you, 1 Tim. iv. 14. that it was given unto him by prophecy; with, or through, the imposition of hands upon him. That is to say; God, who by his Prophets had before designed and marked him out for that great office, 1 Tim. i. 18. upon the actual admission of him into it by the outward rite of laying on of hands, and upon the solemn prayers that were then withal made for him, did bestow the gifts of his blessed Spirit in an extraordinary manner upon him.

18. Now this as it will give us a good ground to conclude that those holy men, whose writings we have here collected, were endued with a large portion of the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost; whether we consider the frequency of those endowments in the age in which they lived, or the extraordinary strictness and piety of their lives, or the greatness of those stations to which they were called in the Church; or lastly, the judgment which the Apostles, who called them to those high offices, were by the Spirit enabled

(*a*) Clem. Alex. de Divit. Salv. num. xlii. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 23.

to make them. So (thirdly) if we look to those accounts which still remain to us of them, they will plainly shew us that they were endued, and that in a very eminent manner, with this power and gift of the blessed Spirit.

19. Of Barnabas, the holy Scripture itself bears witness, that he was a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, Acts xi. 24. Hermas is another of whom St. Paul himself makes mention, Rom. xvi. 14. as an early convert to Christianity; and what extraordinary revelations he had, and how he foretold the troubles that were to come upon the Church, his following visions sufficiently declare.

20. Clement is not only spoken of by the same Apostle, but with this advantageous character too, that he was the fellow labourer of that great man, and had his name written in the book of life, Phil. iv. 3. And when we shall consider how much the lesser and worser men of these gifts were usually communicated at that time, we can hardly think that so excellent a man, and the companion of so great an Apostle, employed first in the planting of the Gospel with him, and then set to govern one of the most considerable Churches in the world, should have been destitute of it.

21. As for St. Ignatius, I have before observed that he had this gift, and by the help of it, warned the Philadelphians(*b*) against falling into those divisions which he foresaw were about to rise up amongst them.

22. Polycarp not only prophesied of his own death(*c*) but spake oftentimes of things that were to come, and has this witness from the whole Church of Smyrna, that nothing of all he foretold ever failed of coming to pass according to his prediction.

23. It remains then that the holy men whose writings are here subjoined, were not only instructed by

(*b*) Epist. to the Philadelphians, c. vii. Add. the martyrdom of Ignatius, num xii.

(*c*) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 20. p. 153. a.

such as were inspired, but were themselves, in some measure, inspired too: at least were endued with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the better fulfilling of those great offices to which God had called them in his Church. And therefore we must conclude, that they were not only not mistaken in what they deliver to us as the Gospel of Christ, but, in all the necessary parts of it, were so assisted by the Holy Ghost as hardly to have been capable of being mistaken in it. By consequence, that we ought to look upon their writings,(*d*) though not of equal authority with those which we call in a singular manner the Holy Scriptures; (because neither were the authors of them called in so extraordinary a way to the writing of them, nor endued with so eminent a portion of the gifts of the blessed Spirit for the doing of it; nor have their writings been judged by the common consent of the Church in those first ages of it, when they were so much better qualified than we are now to judge of the divine authority of these kind of writings, to be of equal dignity with those of the Apostles and Evangelists) yet worthy of a much greater respect than any composures that have been made since, however men seem to have afterwards written with more art, and to have shewn a much greater stock of human learning than what is to be found not only in the following pieces, but even in the sacred books of the New Testament itself.

24. I shall add but one consideration more, the better to shew the true deference that ought to be paid to the treatises here collected, and that is, sixthly, that they were not only written by such men as I have said, instructed by the Apostles, and judged worthy by them both for their knowledge and their integrity, to govern some of the most eminent Churches in the world; and lastly, endued with the extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost; and upon all these accounts

(*d*) Vid. Dodwell. Dissert in Iren. Præfat. and Dissert. 2. Et Irenæum apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. loc. cit. p. 153

to be much respected by us; but were moreover received by the Church in those first ages, as pieces that contained nothing but what was agreeable to sound doctrine, which could scarcely be mistaken in its judgment of them.

25. The epistle of St. Clement was a long time read publicly with the other Scriptures in the congregations of the faithful; made a part of their Bible, and was numbered among the sacred writings, however finally separated from them. And not only the Apostolical canons, but our most antient Alexandrian manuscript, gives the same place to the second that it does to the first of them: and Epiphanius after both, tells us, that they were both of them wont to be read in the Church in his time.(*e*)

26. The Epistle of St. Polycarp, with that of the Church of Smyrna, were not only very highly approved of by particular persons, but like those of St. Clement, were read publicly too in the assemblies of the faithful. And for those of Ignatius, besides that we find a mighty value put upon them by the Christians of those times, they are sealed to us by this character of St. Polycarp; "that they are such Epistles, by which we may be greatly profited: for, says he, they treat of faith and patience, and of all things that pertain to edification in the Lord."

27. The Epistle of Barnabas is not only quoted with great honour by those of the next age to him, but in the antient stichometry of Cotelerius,(*f*) we find it placed the very next to the Epistle of St Jude, and no difference put between the authority of the one and the other.

28. And for the book of Hermas, both Eusebius and St. Jerome tell us, that it was also wont to be read in the Churches. In the same stichometry I before mentioned, it is placed in the very next rank to the Acts of the holy Apostles: and in some of the

(*e*) Epiphan. Hæres. xxx. num. 15.
(*f*) Annot. in Barnab. p. 9, 10.

most antient manuscripts of the New Testament, we find it written in the same volume with the books of the Apostles and Evangelists, as if it had been esteemed of the same value and authority with them.

29. So that now then we must either say, that the Church in those days was so little careful of what was taught in it, as to allow such books to be publicly read in its congregations, the doctrine whereof it did not approve; or we must confess, that the following pieces are delivered to us, not only by the learned men of the first ages of the Church, but by the whole body of the faithful, as containing the pure doctrine of Christ, and must be looked upon to have nothing in them but what was then thought worthy of all acceptation.

30. Now how much this adds to the authority of these discourses, may easily be concluded from what I have before observed. For since it is certain that in those times the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were bestowed, not only upon the Bishops and Pastors of the Church, (though upon them in a more eminent degree) but also upon a great many of the common Christians too; since one particular design of these gifts was for the discerning of prophecies; to judge of what was proposed by any to the Church, or written for the use and benefit of it: we cannot doubt but that what was universally approved of, and allowed, not by a few learned men, but by the whole Church in those days; what was permitted to be publicly read to the faithful for their comfort and instruction, must by this means have received the highest human approbation, and ought to be looked upon by us, though not of equal authority with those books which the same Church has delivered to us as strictly canonical, yet as standing in the first rank of ecclesiastical writings, and containing the true and pure doctrine of Christ in all things necessary to our salvation, without the mixture of any of those errors which have

since been so unhappily brought into the Church, and have been worthily censured as dangerous too, if not destructive of it.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE SUBJECT OF THE FOLLOWING DISCOURSES, AND OF THE USE THAT IS TO BE MADE OF THEM.

That in the following treatises, there is delivered to us a good account both of the doctrine and discipline of the Church in the Apostolical times. This shewn in several particulars. What they taught concerning God the Father, our Saviour Christ, and the Holy Ghost. Of Angels and Spirits. Of the rest of the articles of the Apostles' creed. Concerning the two Sacraments of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. Of the holy Scriptures, and the divine authority of them. What we meet with in these treatises concerning the government of the Church. Of the necessity of communicating with the Bishops and Pastors of it. Of Schismatics, Heretics, and Apostates. Of their public assembling for the service of God, and what was done by them in those meetings. Of several other instances of their discipline; particularly of their fasting and confession of sins. Of the care which their Bishops had of the whole Church. Of the respect that was paid to them. Of their martyrs, and the veneration which they thought due to them. Of their practical instructions, and how severe their morality was; shewn in several particulars. That upon the whole, we may here see what the state of Christianity then was, and still ought to be.

1. AND now having shewn, in the foregoing chapter, what deference we ought to pay to the authority of those holy men, whose writings I have here collected, it may not be amiss in the third place, to inquire, what it is which they deliver to us? What account we find in them of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, in those times in which they lived?

2. It would be endless for me to go about to make a just catalogue of all the particulars of this kind that occur in the following pieces; I shall therefore here consider only a few particulars, in such points as

may seem most worthy to be remarked; and by them (as by a short specimen) shew how the judicious reader may himself improve it, into a more particular history of the faith and practice of the Church, in this first and purest period of it.

3. And first, for what concerns the doctrines of those times; there is hardly any point that is necessary to be believed, or known by us, that is not very plainly delivered in some or other of the following pieces.

4. Here we may read what we are to believe concerning the first article of all of our creed, God the Father. That he is one, almighty, invisible, the creator and maker of all things. That he is omniscient, immense; neither to be comprehended within any bounds, nor so much as to be perfectly conceived by us. That his providence is over all things; and that we can none of us flee from him, or escape his knowledge. That we are to believe in him, to fear him, to love him, and fearing him to abstain from all evil.

5. If from thence we go to the next person of the blessed trinity, our Saviour Jesus Christ; here we shall find all that either our creed teaches us to profess concerning him, or that any Christian need to believe. That he existed not only before he came into the world, but from all eternity. That he is not only the Son of God, but is himself also God. That in the fullness of time he took upon him our nature, and became man: was born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified under Pontius Pilate; that he suffered for our salvation, and was raised again from the dead, not only by the power of the Father, but by his own also. That he is our High Priest, and protector now, and shall come again at the end of the world, to judge the whole race of mankind. That there is no coming unto God but by him: insomuch that even the antient Fathers, who died before his appearing, were yet saved by the same means that we are now.

6. As for what concerns the Holy Spirit, the third person in the glorious Godhead; he is here set out to us

as the Spirit of God, which is glorified, and worshipped together with the Father and the Son, although distinct from both; and communicated by the Son to the Prophets; who also sanctifieth, and endueth the faithful with many gifts, for the edification of the Church.—See Mart. Ignat. § 14. Polyc. § 14. 22.

7. And now I am mentioning the Holy Spirit, let me add, that we may here see what is needful to be known, concerning all the other Spirits of an inferior nature. How the holy Angels minister unto us; but especially then, when we have the most need of them, at the time of our death. And though the Devil may attack us, and use all his arts to draw us away from our duty; yet it must be our own fault if we are overcome by him; and that therefore we ought not to be afraid of him.

8. But to return to our creed, and the articles of it: here we may farther see, both what a great obligation there lies upon us to keep up a communion of Saints in the unity of the Church here on earth, and what is that true fellowship that we ought to have with those who have gone before us to Heaven. That it consists not in the worship of any, though never so gloriously exalted by God; but in love and remembrance; in thanksgiving to God for their excellencies, and in our prayers to him, joined with hearty endeavours of our own, to imitate their perfections.

9. And whilst we do this, we are here assured of the forgiveness of our sins through the merits and satisfaction of Jesus Christ. And that not only of those which we committed before our baptism, but of all such as we shall chance to fall into after, if we truly repent of them, except only the great sin of wilfully and maliciously blaspheming God and his Holy Spirit, which was thought to be hardly, if at all remissible, either in this world or in the other.

10. As for the next point, the resurrection of the body; it is not barely asserted, but it is at large proved too, in the following discourses. There we are told,

not only that there shall be a future resurrection, but a resurrection of the flesh; that we shall be raised in the very same bodies in which we go down into the grave; and that being raised, we shall be judged by Christ according to our works, and be either unspeakably rewarded or exceedingly punished to all eternity.

11. If from the articles of our creed, we go on to the holy Sacrament of the Church: here we have set out to us the great benefit of our baptism, and of what a mighty concern it is to us in the business of our salvation. And for the other Sacrament: here we are taught, that the elements of bread and wine are the same (as to their substance) after consecration that they were before; and are only, in a spiritual sense, the flesh and blood of our Saviour Christ, by the participation of which we shall be immortalized and live forever.

12. And lastly, for that great comprehensive point of our religion, the foundation of our faith, the Holy Scriptures: here we may see what opinion these holy men had of the divine inspiration of them; what deference they paid to them, and how they looked upon them to contain the true words of the Holy Ghost.

13. Such is the doctrine of faith that is here delivered to us. If from thence we pass (secondly) to what concerns the public order and government of the Church, in the first establishment of it: here we may see by what persons it was directed, and how exactly our own Church does in this particular resemble the primitive, perhaps beyond any other at this day in the world, in the Apostolical orders, of Bishops, of Priests, and Deacons.

14. How necessarily they esteemed it their duty to keep up a strict communion with these governors, and how little they thought the very name of a Church could belong to those who separated from them, we are here likewise taught. And how light soever some may make of the business of schism now, yet it is

plain these holy men had a very different apprehension of it, and hardly thought that such could be saved as continued in it.

15. And the same, or rather much worse, was their opinion of heretics and apostates: to the latter of which, as they seem even to have denied repentance, if their apostacy was joined with blasphemy, so it is manifest that without it they thought the others must perish. And in the mean time they declare that we ought not to have any communication with them; only we must pray for them, that they may be converted, which yet they supposed would be very hard.

16. As for those who continued in the doctrine and communion of the Church: here we may see how zealous they were in attending all the public offices of it; how constantly they assembled together for the worship of God, notwithstanding all the malice and fury of their enemies against them upon the account of it: here we may observe how, from the beginning, they had their set times and places of worship; and how they looked upon such offertories, both as more acceptable unto God, and more prevalent with him, than any private addresses that they could make to him.

17. In these assemblies they not only put up their prayers to God, but received also the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And in that part of their service, none officiated but either the Bishop himself, or he who was appointed or allowed of by him.

18. For this purpose they had in every such place of their assembling, one table or altar, upon which their oblations were presented to God by the Bishops and Priests. And they communicated after the same manner that our Saviour Christ had set them the example, that is to say, both of the consecrated bread and wine, and the former taken from one common loaf, which was broken and distributed to them, not in little separate and unbroken wafers, as some now do.

19. Nor was this all; in these assemblies the holy Scriptures were read to them; and (as I have before shewn) some of the very treatises I have here subjoined, together with them. And the Bishop himself instructed the people, and expounded the doctrine of Christ to them.—Ignat. mart. § 2.

20. By the Bishop were the Christians blessed, and joined together in the holy state of matrimony; and indeed without him was nothing done of all that pertained unto religion.

21. In those times the clergy were married as well as laity; nor do we find it esteemed the least scandal for them so to be.

22. Here we may see what the antient manner of fasting was, and what was thought requisite to render such exercises acceptable to God, and profitable to our own souls.

23. In short, here we may perceive what their opinion was of repentance for sins; and how hardly they thought of those who were still repenting, and yet still continued to sin on, notwithstanding their frequent repentance. But especially, here we are told that we must finish our repentance before we die, for that there is no place for repentance after.

24. And though they prescribe confession, as one act of repentance, and necessary to be performed in order to our forgiveness; yet we find no confession mentioned to be made to any but to God only; which therefore seems to intimate to us, that they accounted that alone to have been sufficient.

25. But the care of their Bishops in those first times was not confined within the narrow bounds of their own Churches, but extended to all the faithful, wheresoever they were. And they were still ready to look to those who were at the greatest distance from them, whenever they thought their advice or authority might be either useful to them, or for the honour and benefit of their religion.—See Ignatius's Epistles and martyrdom, &c.

26. From this, and from the general piety and excellence of their lives, joined to the greatness of their character in the Church, came that mighty respect that was paid to the Bishops in those days; and which how great it was, the following treatises abundantly shew.

27. But much greater was their veneration for those, who not only governed well and adorned their holy profession by an exemplary life, but confirmed the truth of it with their blood. They were indeed of an opinion that no man ought causelessly to expose himself unto suffering; but if God called any one to it, they doubted not but that our Saviour Christ would both support him in his conflicts, and most gloriously reward him for the enduring of them. Hence was it their opinion, that martyrdom blotted out all sins; that they who suffered for the faith, should have a degree of glory peculiar to themselves, above all other Saints in God's Kingdom. And when God shewed such regard for them, they concluded that they could never almost do enough to testify their respect to them.

28. To this we must ascribe the care they took to gather up their remains, the honour which they paid to them, and the solemnities with which they deposited them into the earth. Hence came their custom, which we here find, of writing down the particulars of their conflicts, and sending them abroad to the Churches round about. Hence their anniversary meetings at their tombs and monuments, where they recited the acts of their martyrdoms, and sometimes made express discourses in praise of their martyrs, and to exhort one another to the like constancy.

29. But not to insist any longer upon these particulars, there is yet a third sort of matters contained in these discourses, and those of no less use to us, than either of the foregoing; and that is, the practical rules of life that are here delivered to us.

30. Here we may see what care we are to take, not only not to sin ourselves, but as far as in us lies,

not to let any that belong to us continue in sin, lest we also become partakers of their evil doings.

31. Here we are taught not only to have a care of our words and actions, but of our very thoughts and desires; which must not be indulged in any instances of sin; nor be suffered, if it be possible, to wander on any thing that is in the least measure wanton or irregular.—Herm. I Vis.

32. If we will hearken to these holy men, we must learn not only to do the will of God, but, if it be his pleasure must prepare our minds to endure patiently whatever he shall think fit to lay upon us. We must consider, that troubles and afflictions are sent upon us both to punish us for our sins, and as monitors to draw us off from them.

33. To convince us the more effectually of this, we are here shewn the mighty danger of riches, especially where men's hearts are in any degree set upon them; and how very hardly such persons shall be saved. We are taught what use we should make of our abundance, that so it may not prove a snare to us. But especially, we are shewn the great advantage of giving alms to this end; and what mighty engagements there lie upon us to the practice of it.

34. And then, as for our lives; we are here told, that a Christian must not only be good, but exemplary; he must shew the truth of his profession by a suitable conversation; and be known by his actions, rather than by his words.

35. He must pray for all men, even for his enemies; nay, for the very enemies of the Church; for heretics and schismatics; for those of whom there is but little hope that they will ever come to repentance, or that God will give them grace so to do.

36. He must be kind and charitable to all men; free from envy and contention: he must neither raise any differences among his brethren, nor follow any in the doing of it. To this end, he must carefully observe those duties which relate to his neighbour, as

well as those he is to pay to God. He must obey magistrates, must respect the aged, must have a due regard to all men. Is he a husband, a parent, or a child? he must be sure to exercise himself in the several duties becoming those several relations. In short, in the following writings we may see in all the parts of our duty towards God, our neighbour, and ourselves, what we are to do, and what to avoid; and are assured, that God both sees all our actions now, and will reward or punish us for them hereafter to all eternity.

37. And thus have I given a short prospect of what is more largely contained in the following collection. I need not say either how useful a variety of matter it is, or how worthy to be known by all of us. But sure I am, whosoever shall take the pains impartially to compare what is here found with the sacred writings of the New Testament, he may be able both with clearness and certainty to understand whatever is requisite to his eternal salvation; and that with much more satisfaction and security too, than from many volumes of our later writers, who for the most part spend a great deal of time, and take much pains to obscure rather than explain the most easy and intelligible points of our religion.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE MANNER AFTER WHICH THESE DISCOURSES ARE WRITTEN, AND THE SIMPLICITY OF STYLE USED IN THEM.

That the writers of those times used no affectation of human eloquence, but delivered themselves with the greatest plainness that they were able. This manner of writing the best and most proper for instruction. A short account of the occasion of the present collection, and the translation that is here made of the following Treatises.

1. THERE is yet one thing to be observed by me, with reference to the discourses here subjoined; and

that is, fourthly, concerning the manner after which they are written, and that true primitive simplicity which appears in all the parts of them.

2. It is one property of truth, that as it does not need any disguise, so neither does it seek by any vain ornaments of human eloquence to recommend itself to the approbation of those to whom it is tendered. When the Apostles preached the Gospel to the world, they did it not with excellency of speech, nor with enticing words of man's wisdom; but in the demonstration of spirit and of power. They gave such convincing proofs of their divine mission, as forced all indifferent persons to acknowledge their authority: and they thought it after that, too mean a thing to endeavour to catch men's ears, when without any such arts they had before captivated their reason, and forced them to confess the truth of what they delivered.

3. And the same was the method of those holy Fathers who succeeded them. They knew the excellency of their doctrine, and the mighty influence which the revelations it made of the future state would be sure to have upon the minds of all considering men: and therefore they contented themselves to lay these things before them in a plain and simple manner, and yet with such efficacy and power as surpassed all the rhetoric in the world. For indeed the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power—1 Cor. iv. 20.

4. Let not then the reader be surprized, if in the following discourses he meets with none of those ornaments that are wont to recommend the writings of others to his perusal; but rather let him consider that he has here to do with men who were above such a care. Their business was to instruct, not to please; to speak to men's hearts and consciences, not to their fancies; and they knew that this is evermore best done by a plain and natural discourse, by solid rules and substantial motives, not by vain words, which if they satisfy a man at the present, yet seldom leave any lasting impression behind them.

5. But of the authors of the following treatises, and of the discourses themselves, I have said enough, perhaps too much; though yet I think no more than what was necessary to prepare the English reader, for whom I am now chiefly concerned, to a useful perusal of them. As for the present collection I shall only say thus much; that it is the first of this kind that has been set forth in our own language: nor were the greatest part of the following pieces ever (that I know of) before translated into it.

6. I confess, when I consider the great usefulness of such a work, and the high esteem which not only the antient Fathers, but the most learned of all ages have had of the treatises here collected together, I have sometimes wondered, that among so many things as have of late been set forth in the English tongue, none has hitherto undertaken such a task as this. But when I came to the trial, I soon found out what may perhaps have been one reason of it; for indeed could I have foreseen the difficulty of the work, I must question whether I should ever have been persuaded to go about it. And this I say, not to magnify any thing that I have done, which I have too much reason to fear will be far from deserving any great commendation, but to suggest an apology for whatever defects those of greater leisure, more health, and better abilities shall chance to find in it, notwithstanding all the care I have taken to guess aright at the intention of my authors, and to deliver what, upon the best examination I could make, I took to be their meaning.

7. I need not say any thing to convince those who are at all acquainted with these matters, and who are alone the competent judges of the present performance, how hard oftentimes it is, with the help of the best copies, to hit upon the true meaning of an author that lived so many ages since, as those I have here collected; and what great defects, in many places there are, in the copies I have here been forced to make use of, is not unknown to them. But however,

I am not aware of any great errors that I have committed, and am in some hope that (in this edition of these treatises) I have no where very much, nor at all dangerously, mistaken the meaning of those holy men, whose sense I have undertaken to represent.

8. This I am sure of, that my design in this whole undertaking, was to minister the best I could, to the interests of truth and piety; and I thought myself, at this time, the rather obliged to do it from the press, in that it has pleased God, in some measure, to take me off from the ability of doing it from the pulpit.

9. If it shall be asked how I came to choose the drudgery of a translator, rather than the more ingenuous part of publishing somewhat of my own composing? It was in short this; because I hoped that such writings as these would find a more general and unprejudiced acceptance with all sorts of men, than any thing that could be written by any one now living: who, if esteemed by some, is yet in danger of being despised by more, whose prejudice to his person will not suffer them to reap any benefit by any thing, though never so useful, that can come from him; whilst such tracts as these may possibly receive a general respect from all sorts of persons, and meet not only with an entertainment, but an esteem too from all.

10 These were the motives that first induced me to set about this work; in the reasonableness of which, should I chance to be mistaken, yet I cannot but persuade myself, that the honesty of my intentions will excuse me to all indifferent persons. Let others then, to whom God has given better opportunities and greater abilities, serve the Church in better and higher performances. It shall suffice me in any way to minister to the souls of men. And if by this present undertaking I shall but in any measure have contributed to the reviving a true sense of piety and devotion among us, but especially to the disposing of any number of men to consider more seriously the fatal

consequences of our present divisions, and to labour what in them lies towards the composing of them, I shall heartily bless God both that he first prompted me to undertake this troublesome task, and has since enabled me, though amidst many infirmities, to go through with it.

THE

EPISTLE OF ST. CLEMENT

TO THE

CORINTHIANS.

THE Church of God which is(a) at Rome, to the Church of God which is at Corinth, elect,(b) sanctified,(c) by the will of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord: grace and peace from the Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you.(d)

BRETHREN,

THE sudden and unexpected dangers and calamities that have fallen upon us, have, we fear, made us the more slow in our consideration of those things which you inquired of us: as(e) also of that wicked and detestable sedition, so unbecoming(f) the elect of God, which a few heady and self willed men have fomented to such a degree of madness, that your venerable and renowned name, so worthy of all men to be beloved is greatly blasphemed thereby. For who that has ever been(g) among you, has not experimented the firmness of your faith,(h) and its fruitfulness in all good works, and admired the temper and moderation of your religion in Christ, and published abroad the magnificence of your hospitality, and thought you happy in your perfect and certain knowledge of the Gospel? For ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked according(i) to the laws of God

(a) Sojourneth. (b) Called. See Dr. Hammond on Matt. xx. c.
(c) Gr. in.
(d) See Bishop Pearson's note on this place. Ed. Colomesi, p. 2.
(e) And. (f) Gr. strange to. (g) Gr. lodged as a stranger
(h) Adorned with all manner of virtues. (i) In.

being subject to those who had the rule over you, and giving the honour that was fitting to such as were the aged(*k*) among you. Ye commanded the young men to think those things that were modest and grave: the women ye exhorted to do all things with an unblameable, and seemly and pure conscience; loving their own husbands, as was fitting: and that keeping themselves within the bounds(*l*) of a due obedience, they should order(*m*) their houses gravely, with all discretion.(*n*)

2. Ye were all of you humble minded, not boasting(*o*) of any thing, desiring rather to be subject than to govern, to give than to receive; being content with the portion God had dispensed to you, and hearkening diligently to his word, ye were(*p*) enlarged in your bowels, having his sufferings(*q*) always before your eyes. Thus a firm and blessed(*r*) and profitable(*r*) peace was given unto you, and an unsatiable desire of doing good, and a plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost was upon all of you. And being full of good designs,(*s*) ye did with great readiness of mind,(*t*) and with a religious confidence stretch forth your hands to God Almighty, beseeching him to be merciful unto you, if in any thing ye had unwillingly sinned against him. Ye contended day and night for the whole brotherhood, that with compassion,(*u*) and a good conscience, the number of his elect might be saved. Ye were sincere, and without offence towards each other, not mindful of injuries: all sedition and schism was an abomination unto you: ye bewailed every one his neighbour's sins, esteeming their defects your own: ye were kind(*w*) one to another without grudging,

(*k*) Presbyters.
(*l*) Canon, rule.
(*m*) Themselves do their own business. Vid. not. Junii in loc.
(*n*) Temperance, sobriety. 1 Pet. v. 5.
(*o*) Proud Acts xx. 33. 1 Tim vi. 8.
(*p*) Embraced it in your very bowels.
(*q*) Παθήματα, see Dr. Grabe's Addit. to Br. Bull's Def. fid. Nic. p. 60, 61.
(*r*) Gr. λιπαρα.
(*s*) Holy counsel, or purpose, or will.
(*t*) Gr. good.
(*u*) With mercy and conscience.
(*w*) Ye were without repentance in all well doing. Titus iii. 1.

being ready to every good work; and being adorned with a conversation altogether virtuous and religious, ye did all things in the fear of God, whose "commandments were written upon the tables of your hearts."—[Prov. vii. 3.]

3. All honour and enlargement was given unto you; and so was fulfilled that which is written; *my beloved did eat and drink, he was enlarged and waxed fat, and he kicked*, [Deut xxxii. 15.] From hence came emulation, and envy, and strife, and sedition; persecution and disorder,(x) war and captivity. So they who were of no renown, lifted up themselves against the honourable; those of no reputation, against those that were in respect; the foolish against the wise; the young men against the aged. Therefore righteousness and peace are departed from you, because every one hath forsaken the fear of God, and is grown blind in his faith, nor walketh by the rule of God's commandments, nor liveth as is fitting in Christ: but every one(y) follows his own wicked lusts; having taken up an unjust and wicked envy, by which death first entered into the world.

4. For thus it is written, [Gen. iv. 3, &c.] "and in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof: and the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering. But unto Cain and unto his offering he had not respect. And Cain was very sorrowful, and his countenance fell. And the Lord said unto Cain, why art thou sorrowful, and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou shalt offer aright, but not divided aright, hast thou not sinned?(z) Hold thy peace; unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him. And Cain said unto Abel his brother, let us go down into the field. And it came to pass as they were in the field, that Cain rose up

(x) Confusion, tumults, &c. (y) Walketh after.
(z) This is according to the Lxx.

against Abel his brother, and slew him." Ye see, brethren, how envy and emulation wrought the death(*b*) of a brother. For this(*c*) our father Jacob fled from the face of his brother Esau, [Gen. xxviii.] It was this that caused Joseph [Gen. xxxvii.] to be persecuted even unto death, and to come into bondage. Envy forced Moses [Exod. ii. 15,] to flee from the face of Pharaoh king of Egypt, when he heard his own countryman ask him, *who made thee a judge and a ruler over us? wilt thou kill me as thou didst the Egyptian yesterday?* [Exod. ii. 14.] Through envy Aaron and Miriam were shut out of the camp,(*d*) from the rest of the congregation seven days. Emulation(*e*) sent Dathan and Abiram quick into the grave,(*f*) because they raised up a sedition against Moses the servant of God. For this David was not only hated of strangers,(*g*) but was persecuted even by Saul, the king of Israel.

5. But not to insist upon antient examples,(*h*) let us come to those worthies(*i*) that have been nearest to us, and take the brave examples of our own age. Through zeal and envy, the most faithful and righteous(*k*) pillars of the Church, have been persecuted even to the most grievous deaths. Let us set before our eyes the holy(*l*) Apostles: Peter by unjust envy, underwent not one or two, but many sufferings;(*m*) until(*n*) at last being martyred, he went to the place of glory that was due unto him. For the same cause(*o*) did Paul in like manner receive the reward of his patience. Seven times he was in bonds;(*p*) he was whipped, was stoned; he preached both in the East and in the West, leaving(*q*) behind him the glorious

(*b*) Fratricide. (*c*) Envy. (*d*) Made to lodge out.
(*e*) Brought. (*f*) Hades.
(*g*) Had, or underwent the hatred, not only, &c.
(*h*) To cease from. (*i*) Combatants, wrestlers.
(*k*) The faithful and most righteous. (*l*) Good.
(*m*) Labours. (*n*) And so. (*o*) By envy.
(*p*) Having borne seven times Bonds, &c.
(*q*) He received the, &c.

report of his faith; and so having taught the whole world righteousness, and for that end travelled even to the utmost bounds of the West; he at last suffered martyrdom by the command of the governors,(r) and departed out of the world, and went unto his holy place, being become a most eminent pattern of patience unto all ages.

6. To these holy Apostles were joined a very great number of others,(s) who having through envy undergone in like manner many pains and torments, have left a glorious example to us.(t) For this(u) not only men, but women have been persecuted; and(w) having suffered very grievous and cruel punishments,(x) have finished the course of their faith with firmness; and though weak in body, yet received a glorious reward. This(y) has alienated the minds even of women from their husbands, and changed what was once said by our father Adam, *this is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh.* In a word, envy and strife have overturned whole(z) cities, and rooted out great nations from off the earth.

7. These things, beloved, we write(a) unto you, not only for your instruction(b) but also for your own remembrance. For we are all in the same lists,(c) and the same combat is prepared for us all.(d) Wherefore let us lay aside all vain and empty cares, and let us come up to the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling. Let us consider what is good and acceptable, [1 Tim. v. 4.] and well pleasing in the sight of him that made us. Let us look stedfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious his blood is in the sight of God; which being shed for our salvation,

(r) Vid. Pearson de success. c. viii. § 9.
(s) Men who have lived Godly, is gathered together.
(t) Become an excellent example among us. (u) Envy.
(w) The names of Danae and Dirce I omit. See Junius Annot. in loc.
(x) Cursed afflictions or torments. (y) Envy or emulation.
(z) Great. (a) Send.
(b) Instructing you, but also remembering, &c.
(c) Place of encounter. (d) Imposed upon us all.

has obtained(*e*) the grace of repentance for all the world. Let us search(*f*) into all the ages that have gone before us, and let us learn that our Lord has(*g*) in every one of them still given place for repentance to all such as would turn to him.(*h*) Noah preached repentance, and as many as hearkened to him were saved.—[2 Pet. ii. 5.—Gen. 7.] Jonah denounced destruction against the Ninevites;—[Jon. iii.] Howbeit they repenting of their sins, appeased God by their prayers, and were saved,(*i*) though they were strangers to the covenant of God.

8. Hence we find how all the ministers of the grace of God have spoken by the holy spirit of repentance. And even the Lord of all has himself declared(*k*) with an oath concerning it; "as I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of a sinner,(*l*) but that he should repent."—[Ezek. xxxiii. 11.] Adding farther this good sentence, saying; "turn(*m*) from your iniquity, O House of Israel. Say unto the children of my people, though your sins should reach from earth to Heaven, and though they should be redder than scarlet, and blacker than sackcloth; yet if ye shall turn to me with all your heart, and shall call me Father, I will hearken to you as to a holy people."* And in another place† he saith on this wise; "wash ye, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes;(*n*) cease to do evil, learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red as crimson, they shall be as wool.(*o*) If ye be willing and obedient ye shall eat the good things of the land, but if ye refuse and

(*e*) Afforded or given to. (*f*) Look diligently to.
(*g*) From age to age. (*h*) Be turned. (*i*) Received Salvation.
(*k*) Spoken. (*l*) So much as his repentance.
(*m*) Repent from.
* Ezek. xviii. 30, 32.—Isai. i.—Jer. iii. 4, 19.—† Isai. i. 16.
(*n*) Evil from your souls. (*o*) I will make them white as wool.

rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." These things has God established by his Almighty will, desiring that all his beloved should come to repentance.

9. Wherefore let us obey his excellent and glorious will, and imploring his mercy and goodness,(*p*) let us fall down upon our faces before him, and cast ourselves upon his mercy:(*q*) laying aside all vanity(*r*) and contention, and envy which leads unto death. Let us look up to those who have the most perfectly ministered to his excellent glory. Let us take Enoch for our example; who being found righteous in obedience, was translated,* and his death was not known.(*s*) Noah being proved(*t*) to be faithful, did by his ministry preach regeneration to the world, and the Lord saved by him all the living creatures that went with(*u*) one accord together into the Ark.†

10. Abraham who was called God's friend,‡ was in like manner found faithful; in as much as he obeyed the commands(*w*) of God. By obedience he(*x*) went out of his own country, and from his own kindred, and from his father's house; that so forsaking a small country, and a weak affinity, and a little house, he might inherit the promises of God. For thus God said unto him;§ "get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee. And I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." And again when he separated himself from Lot, God said unto him,* "lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art

(*p*) Becoming suppliants of, &c.
(*q*) Turn ourselves to his mercy.
(*r*) Vain labour.
* Gen. v. 24. (*s*) Found. (*t*) Being found.
† Gen. vi. vii. viii. (*u*) In unity.
‡ James ii. 23.—Isaiah xli. 8. (*w*) Words. (*x*) This man.
§ Gen. xii. 1. * Gen. xiii. 14.

northward and southward, and eastward and westward:(y) for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth, so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered." And again he saith:* "and God brought forth Abraham, and said unto him, look now towards Heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them; so shall thy seed be. And Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness." Through faith and hospitality he had a son given(z) him in his old age; and through obedience he offered him up in sacrifice to God, upon one of the mountains which God shewed unto him.

11. By hospitality and godliness was Lot saved out of Sodom,† when all the country round about was destroyed(a) by fire and brimstone: the Lord thereby making it manifest, that he will not forsake those that trust in him, but will bring the disobedient to punishment and correction:(b) for his wife who went out with him, being of a different mind,(c) and not continuing in the same obedience, was for that reason set forth for an example,(d) being turned into a pillar of salt unto this day. That so all men may know that those who are double minded, and distrustful of the power of God, are [become] prepared for condemnation, and to be a sign to all succeeding ages.

12. By faith and hospitality was Rahab the harlot saved. For when the spies were sent by Joshua the son of Nun to search out Jericho, and the king of Jericho knew that they were come to spy out his country, he sent men to take them,(f) that so they might be put to death. Rahab(g) therefore, being

(y) Towards the sea. * Gen. xv. 5.
(z) A son was given unto him.
† Gen. xix.—2 Pet. ii. 6.—Jude 7.
(a) See not. Junii in loc. or punished with.
(b) But those that turn another way, he puts, &c.
(c) Not in concord. (d) Put for a sign.
(f) He sent men that should take them, that being taken, &c.
(g) Therefore hospitable Rahab.

hospitable, received them, and hid them under the stalks of flax on the top of her house. And when the messengers(*h*) that were sent by the king came unto her, saying, 'there came men unto thee to spy out the land, bring them forth, for so hath the king commanded:" she answered, 'the two men whom ye seek came unto me, but presently they departed and are gone:' not discovering them unto them.(*i*) Then she said to the spies,(*k*) "I know that the Lord your God has given(*l*) this city into your hands; for the fear of you is fallen upon all that dwell therein. When therefore ye shall have taken it, ye shall save me and my father's house.' And they answered her saying: 'It shall be as thou hast spoken unto us. Therefore when thou shalt know that we are near, thou shalt gather all thy family together upon the house top, and they shall be saved: but all that shall be found without thy house shall be destroyed.' And they gave her moreover a sign, that she should hang out of her house a scarlet rope."* Shewing thereby, that by the blood of our Lord there should be redemption to all that believe and hope in God.(*m*) Ye see, beloved, how there was not only faith, but prophecy too in this woman.

13. Let us therefore humble ourselves, brethren, laying aside all pride, and boasting, and foolishness, and anger, and let us do as it is written, for thus saith the Holy Spirit: "let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the strong man in his strength, nor the rich man in his riches; but let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord, to seek him, and to do judgment and justice."† Above all, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake concerning equity and long suffering, saying,(*o*) "be ye merciful, and ye shall obtain mercy: forgive, and ye

(*h*) Men being sent by the king, and saying.
(*i*) Vid. Conjectur. Coteler. in loc. (*k*) Men.
(*l*) Given you this city. * Josh. ii. 1, 2, &c.
(*m*) Many of the Fathers have applied this to the same purpose. See not. Coteler. in loc.
† Jer. ix. 23. Comp. 1 Cor. ix. 31. (*o*) For thus he saith.

shall be forgiven: as ye do, so it shall be done unto you: as ye give, so it shall be given unto you: as ye judge, so shall ye be judged: as ye are kind to others, so shall God be kind to you: with what measure ye meet, with the same shall it be measured to you again."* By this command, and by these rules, let us establish ourselves, that so we may always walk obediently to his holy words, being humble minded: for so says the holy Scripture:(p) "upon whom shall I look, even upon him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and that trembles at my word."†

14. It is therefore just and righteous,(q) men and brethren, that we should become obedient unto God, rather than follow such as through(r) pride and sedition, have made themselves the ringleaders of a detestable emulation. For it is not an ordinary harm that we shall do ourselves, but rather a very great danger that we shall run, if we rashly give up ourselves to the wills of men, who promote(s) strife and seditions, to turn us aside from that which is fitting. But let us be kind to one another, according to the compassion and sweetness of him that made us. For it is written, "the merciful shall inherit the earth, and they that are without evil shall be left upon it; but the transgressors shall perish from off the face of it."‡ And again he saith, "I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like the cedars of Libanus. I passed by, and lo he was not; I sought his place, but it could not be found. Keep innocency, and do the thing that is right, for there shall be a remnant to the peaceable man." §

15. Let us therefore hold fast to those who religiously(t) follow peace, and not to such as only pretend to desire it. For he saith in a certain place, "this people honoureth me with their lips,

* Luke vi. 36. (p) Holy word. † Isaiah lxvi. 2. (q) Holy.
(r) In. (s) Prick on to. See Junius Ann.
‡ Psalm xxxvii. 9.—Prov. ii. 20. § Psal. xxxvii. 6.
(t) With religion or godliness.

but their heart is far from me."* And again, "they bless with their mouth, but curse in their heart."† And again he saith, "they loved him with their mouth, and with their tongue they lied to him: for their heart was not right with him, neither were they faithful in their covenant."‡ "Let all deceitful lips become dumb, and the tongue that speaketh proud things. Who have said,(y) with our tongue will we prevail: our lips are our own, who is Lord over us? For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety, I will deal confidently with him."§

16. For Christ is their's who are humble, and not who exalt themselves over his flock. The sceptre of the majesty of God, our Lord Jesus Christ came not in the shew(z) of pride and arrogance, though he could have done so; but with humility, as the Holy Ghost had before spoken concerning him. For thus he saith: "Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground. He hath no form nor comeliness, and when ye shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. And we hid, as it were, our faces from him: he was despised, and we esteemed him not. Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth. He is brought as a lamb to the

* Isaiah xxix. 13. † Psal. lxii. 4.
‡ Psal. lxxviii. 36, 37. § Psal. xii. 3.
(y) We will magnify our tongue. (z) Boasting.

slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. He was taken from prison and from judgment; and who shall declare his generation? For he was cut off out of the land of the living; for the transgression of my people was he stricken. And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth. Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him, he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days; and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied; by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many: for he shall bear their iniquities Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors, and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors."* And again he himself saith: "I am a worm and no man, a reproach of men, and despised of the people. All they that see me laugh me to scorn; they shoot out their lips, they shake their head, saying, he trusted in the Lord that he would deliver him, let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him." [Psal. xxii. 6.] Ye see, beloved, what the pattern is that has been given to us. For if the Lord thus humbled himself, what should we do who are brought by(*o*) him under the yoke of his grace?

17 Let us be followers of those who went about in goat-skins and sheep-skins, preaching the coming of Christ. Such [we say] were Elias, and Elisæus, and Ezekiel the Prophets. And let us add to these such others as have received the like testimony. Abraham has been greatly witnessed of, having been called the friend of God. And yet he, stedfastly beholding the glory of God, says with all humility, "I am dust and

* Isai. liij. according to the Hebrew.

(*o*) δι αυτου

ashes."—[Gen. xviii. 27.] Again, of Job it is thus written: "that he was just and without blame, true; one that served God and abstained from all evil."—[Job i. 1.] Yet he, accusing himself, says, "no man is free from pollution, no not though he should live but one day."—[Job xiv. 4.] Moses was called faithful in all God's house, and by his conduct(e) the Lord punished Israel by stripes and plagues. And even this man, though thus greatly honoured, spake not greatly of himself; but when the oracle of God was delivered to him out of the bush, he said, "Who am I that thou dost send me? I am of a slender voice and a slow tongue."—[Exod. iii. 11.] And again he saith, "I am as the smoke of the pot."—[Exod. iv. 10.]

18. And what shall we say of David, so highly testified of in the holy Scriptures? To whom God said, "I have found a man after my own heart, David the son of Jesse, with my holy oil have I annointed him."—[Psal. lxxxix. 29.] But yet he himself saith unto God, "have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness, according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me. Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest. Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me. Behold thou desirest truth in the inward parts, and in the hidden part thou shalt make me to know wisdom. Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean; wash me and I shall be whiter than snow. Make me to hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice. Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.

Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with thy free Spirit. Then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee. Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness. O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise. For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it; thou delightest not in burnt-offerings. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."*

19. Thus has the humility and Godly fear of these great and excellent men recorded in the Scriptures, through obedience, made not only us, but also the generations before us, better; even as many as have received his holy oracles with fear and truth. Having therefore so many, and such great and glorious examples, let us return to that peace which was the mark that from the beginning was set before us: let us look up to the Father and Creator of the whole world, and let us hold fast to his glorious and exceeding gifts and benefit of peace. Let us consider and behold with the eyes of our understanding his long-suffering will, and think how gentle and patient he is towards his whole creation.

20. The Heavens moving by his appointment, are subject to him in peace. Day and night accomplish the courses that he has allotted unto them, not disturbing one another. The sun and moon, and all the several companies and constellations of the stars, run the courses that he has appointed to them in concord, without departing in the least from them. The fruitful earth yields its food plentifully in due season both to man and beast, and to all animals that are upon it, according to his will; not disputing nor altering any thing of what was ordered by him. So also the un-

* Psal. li. to ver. 17. according to the Hebrew.

fathomable and unsearchable floods of the deep, are kept in by his command :(r) and the conflux of the vast sea being brought together by his order into its several collections, passes not the bounds that he has set to it ; but as he appointed it, so it remains. For he said, "hitherto shalt thou come, and thy floods shall be broken within thee," [Job xxxviii.] The ocean, unpassable to mankind, and the worlds that are beyond it, are governed by the same commands of their great master. Spring and summer, autumn and winter, give place peaceably to each other. The several quarters of the winds, fulfil their work in their seasons without offending one another. The ever-flowing fountains, made both for pleasure and health, never fail to reach out their breasts to support the life of men. Even the smallest creatures live together in peace and concord with each other. All these has the great Creator and Lord of all, commanded to observe peace and concord ; being good to all ; but especially to us who flee to his mercy through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory, and majesty, for ever and ever.—*Amen.*

21. Take heed, beloved, that his many blessings be not to us to condemnation, except we shall walk worthy of Him, doing with one consent what is good and pleasing in his sight. "The spirit of the Lord is a candle, searching out the inward parts of the belly," [Prov. xx. 27.] Let us therefore consider how near he is to us; and how that none of our thoughts, or reasonings which we frame within ourselves, are hid from him. It is therefore just that we should not forsake our rank, by doing contrary to his will. Let us choose to offend a few foolish and inconsiderate men, lifted up and glorying in their own pride, rather than God. Let us reverence our Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us ; let us honour those who are set over us ; let us respect the aged that are amongst

(r) Vid. Edit. Colomes. p. 53.

us, and let us instruct the younger men in the discipline and fear of the Lord. Our wives let us direct to do that which is good. Let them shew forth a lovely habit of purity in all their conversation, with a sincere affection of meekness: let the government of their tongues be made manifest by their silence; let their charity be without respect to persons, alike towards all such as religiously fear God. Let their children be bred up in the instruction of Christ; and especially let them learn how great a power humility has with God; how much a pure and holy charity avails with him; how excellent and great his fear is; and how it will save all such as turn to him with holiness in a pure mind. For he is the searcher of the thoughts and counsels of the heart; whose breath is in us, and when he pleases, he can take it from us.

22. But all these things must be confirmed by the faith which is in Christ: for so he himself bespeaks us by the Holy Ghost, [Psal. xxxiv. 11, 17.] "Come ye children and hearken unto me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is there that desireth life, and loveth to see good days? keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile. Depart from evil and do good; seek peace and ensue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers. But the face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. The righteous cried, and the Lord heard him and delivered him out of all his troubles. Many are the troubles of the wicked, but they that trust in the Lord, mercy shall encompass them about."

23. Our all-merciful and beneficent Father hath bowels of compassion towards them that fear him; and kindly and lovingly bestows his graces upon all such as come to him with a simple mind. Wherefore let us not waver, neither let us have any doubt in our hearts of his excellent and glorious gifts. Let that be far from us which is written, "miserable are the dou-

ble-minded, and those who are doubtful in their hearts. Who say, these things have we heard, and our fathers have told us these things. But behold we are grown old, and none of them has happened unto us. O ye fools! consider the trees; take the vine for an example; first it sheds its leaves, then it buds; after that it spreads its leaves: then it flowers; then come the sour grapes; and after them follows the ripe fruit," [James i. 2.] Ye see how in a little time the fruit of the trees comes to maturity. Of a truth, yet a little while, and his will shall suddenly be accomplished. The holy Scripture itself bearing witness, "that he(*o*) shall quickly come and not tarry, and that the Lord shall suddenly come to his temple, even the Holy One(*p*) whom ye look for," [Hab. ii. 3.—Malachi iii. 1.]

24. Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord does continually shew us, that there shall be a future resurrection, of which he has made our Lord Jesus Christ the first fruits, raising him from the dead. Let us contemplate, beloved, the resurrection that is continually made before our eyes. Day and night manifest a resurrection to us. The night lies down, and the day arises: again the day departs and the night comes on. Let us behold the fruits of the earth. Every one sees how the seed is sown. The sower goes forth and casts it upon the earth, and the seed which when it was sown fell upon the earth dry and naked, in time dissolves; and from the dissolution the great power of the providence of the Lord raises it again; and of one seed many arise, and bring forth fruit.

25. Let us consider that wonderful type of the resurrection, which is seen in the eastern countries; that is to say in Arabia. There is a certain bird called a Phœnix; of this there is never but one at a time, and that lives five hundred years. And when the time of its dissolution draws near that it must die, it makes itself a nest of frankincense and myrrh, and

(*o*) Ex MS. omitted by Junius. (*p*) Ἅγγελος Angel.

other spices, into which when its time is fulfilled it enters and dies. But its flesh putrifying breeds a certain worm, which being nourished with the juice of the dead bird brings forth feathers; and when it is grown to a perfect state, it takes up the nest in which the bones of its parent lie, and carries it from Arabia into Egypt, to a city called Heliopolis; and flying in open day in the sight of all men, lays it upon the altar of the Sun, and so returns from whence it came. the priests then search into the records of the time, and find that it returned precisely at the end of five hundred years.

26. And shall we then think it to be any very great and strange thing for the Lord of all to raise up those that religiously serve him in the assurance of a good faith, when even by a bird he shews us the greatness of his power to fulfil his promise? for he says in a certain place, "thou shalt raise me up and I shall confess unto thee." And again, "I laid me down and slept, and awaked, because thou art with me," [Psal. iii. 5.] And again, Job says, "thou shalt raise up this flesh of mine that has suffered all these things," [Job xix. 26.]

27. Having therefore this hope, let us hold fast to him who is faithful in all his promises, and righteous in all his judgments; who has commanded us not to lie, how much more will he not himself lie? for nothing is impossible with God but to lie. Let his faith then be stirred up again in us; and let us consider that all things are nigh unto him. By the word of his power he made all things, and by the same word he is able, whenever he will, to destroy them. "Who shall say unto him, what doest thou? or who shall resist the power of his strength?" [Wisd. xii. 12.] When, and as he pleased, he will do all things; and nothing shall pass away of all that has been determined by him. All things are open before him, nor can any thing be hid from his counsel. "The Heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth

his handy work. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard," [Psal. xix. 1.]

28. Seeing then all things are seen and heard by God, let us fear him, and let us lay aside our wicked works which proceed from ill desires, that through his mercy we may be delivered from the condemnation to come. For whither can any of us flee from his mighty hand? or what world shall receive any of those who run away from him? For thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, "whither shall I flee [from thy Spirit] or where shall I hide myself from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven thou art there: if I shall go to the utmost parts of the earth, there is thy right hand: if I shall make my bed in the deep, thy Spirit is there."—[Psal. cxxxix. 7.] Whither then shall any one go, or whither shall he run from him that comprehends all things?

29. Let us therefore come to him with holiness of heart, lifting up chaste and undefiled hands unto him: loving our gracious and merciful Father, who has made us to partake of his election. For so it is written, "when the most high divided the nations, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the nations, according to the number of his Angels: his people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the lot of his inheritance."—[Deut. xxxii. 8, 9.] And in another place he saith, "behold the Lord taketh to himself a nation out of the midst of nations, as a man taketh the first fruits of his flour, and the most holy shall come out of that nation"—[Deut. iv. 34.—Numb. xxvii.]

30. Wherefore we being the portion of the holy one, let us do all those things that pertain unto holiness, fleeing all evil speaking against one another, all filthy and impure embraces, together with all drunkenness, youthful lusts, abominable concupiscences, detestable adultery, and execrable pride. For God,

saith he, "resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble."—[Jam. iv. 6.—1 Pet. v. 5.] Let us therefore; hold fast to those to whom God has given his grace. And let us put on concord, being humble, temperate, free from all whispering and detraction, and justified by our actions, not our words. For he saith, "doth he that speaketh and heareth many things, and that is of a ready tongue, suppose that he is righteous? blessed is he that is born of a woman that liveth but a few days: use not therefore much speech."—[Job xi, 2, 3. lxx.] Let our praise be of God, not of ourselves, for God hateth those that commend themselves. Let the witness of our good actions be given to us of others, as it was given to the holy men who went before us. Rashness, and arrogance, and confidence, belong to them who are accursed of God: but equity, and humility, and mildness to such as are blessed by him.

31. Let us then lay hold of his blessing, and let us consider what are the ways by which we may attain unto it. Let us look back upon those things that happened from the beginning. For what was our Father Abraham blessed? Was it not because that through faith he wrought righteousness and truth? Isaac being fully persuaded of what he knew was to come, cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice. Jacob with humility departed out of his own country, fleeing from his brother, and went unto Laban and served him: and so the sceptre of the twelve tribes of Israel was given unto him.

32. Now what the greatness of this gift(r) was, will plainly appear, if we shall take the pains distinctly to consider all the parts of it. For from him came the Priests and Levites, who all ministered at the altar of God. From him came our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the flesh. From him came the kings and princes, and rulers in Judah. Nor were the rest of

(r) The gifts that were given by him, were, he shall know whosoever will, one by one, carefully and distinctly consider them.

his tribes(*s*) in any small glory : God having promised that "thy seed [says he] shall be as the stars of heaven."—[Gen. xxvii 17.] They were all therefore greatly glorified, not for their own sake, or for their own works, or for the righteousness that they themselves wrought, but through his will. And we also being called by the same will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, or piety, or the works which we have done in the holiness of our hearts ; but by that faith by which God Almighty has justified all men from the beginning, to whom be glory forever and ever. *Amen.*

33. What shall we do therefore, brethren? shall we be slothful in well-doing, and lay aside our charity ? God forbid that any such thing should be done by us. But rather let us hasten with all earnestness and readiness of mind, to perfect every good work. For even the Creator and Lord of all things himself rejoices in his own works. By his Almighty power he fixed the Heavens, and by his incomprehensible wisdom he adorned them. He also divided the earth from the water with which it is encompassed, and fixed it as a secure tower, upon the foundation of his own will. He also by his appointment commanded all the living creatures that are upon it, to exist. So likewise the sea, and all the creatures that are in it, having first created them, he enclosed them therein by his power. And above all, he with his holy and pure hands, formed man, the most excellent, and as to his understanding, truly the greatest of all other creatures, the character of his own image. For so God says, "let us make man in our image, after our own likeness : so God created man, male and female created he them," [Gen. i. 26, 27.] And having thus finished all these things, he commended all that he had made, and blessed them, and said, *increase and multiply*, [Gen i. 28.] we see how all righteous men have been adorned with good works : wherefore even

(*s*) Sceptres : see Jun. Annot.

the Lord himself, having adorned himself with his works, rejoiced. Having therefore such an example, let us without delay fulfil his will; and with all our strength work the work of righteousness.

34. The good workman with confidence receives the bread of his labour; but the sluggish and lazy cannot look him in the face that set him on work. We must therefore be ready and forward in well doing; for from him are all things. And thus he foretells us, "behold the Lord cometh, and his reward is with him, even before his face, to render to every one according to his work," [Isaiah xl. 10, lxii. 11.] He warns us therefore beforehand, with all his heart, to this end, that we should not be slothful and negligent in well-doing. Let our boasting therefore, and our confidence be in God; let us submit ourselves to his will. Let us consider the whole multitude of his Angels, how ready they stand to minister unto his will. As saith the scripture, "thousands of thousands stood before him, and ten thousand times ten thousand ministered unto him," [Dan. vii. 10.] "And they cried, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Sabaoth; the whole earth is full of his glory," [Isa. vi. 3.] Wherefore let us also, being conscientiously gathered together in concord with one another, as it were with one mouth, cry earnestly unto him, that he would make us partakers of his great and glorious promises. For he saith, "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for them that wait for him," [Isa. lxiv. 4.—1 Cor. ii. 9.]

35. How blessed and wonderful, beloved, are the gifts of God? life in immortality! brightness in righteousness! truth in full assurance! faith in confidence! temperance in holiness! And all this has God subjected to our understandings; what therefore shall those things be which he has prepared for them that wait for him? the Creator and Father of spirits, the most holy, he only knows both the greatness and beauty of them. Let us therefore strive with all ear-

nestness, that we may be found in the number of those that wait for him; that so we may receive the reward which he has promised. But how, beloved, shall we do this? we must fix our minds by faith towards God, and seek those things that are pleasing and acceptable unto him. We must act conformably to his holy will, and follow the way of truth, casting off from us all unrighteousness and iniquity, together with all covetousness, strife, evil manners, deceit, whispering, detractions; all hatred of God, pride and boasting; vain glory and ambition; for they that do these things, are odious to God; and not only they that do them, but also all such as approve of those that do them, [Rom i. 32.] For thus saith the Scripture, "but unto the wicked God said, what hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth? seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee. When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers. Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit. Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest thine own mother's son. These things hast thou done and I kept silence; thou thoughtedst that I was altogether such a one as thyself; but I will reprove thee, and set them in order before thine eyes. Now consider this ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver. Whoso offereth praise, glorifieth me; and to him that disposeth his way aright, will I shew the salvation of God," [Psal. l. 16, &c. according to the Hebr.]

36. This is the way, beloved, in which we may find our Saviour,* even Jesus Christ, the High Priest of all our offerings, the defender and helper of our weakness. By him we look up to the highest Heavens; and behold as in a glass, his spotless and most excellent visage. By him are the eyes of our hearts opened; by him our foolish and darkened un-

* That which has the power to save us.

derstanding rejoiceth to behold his wonderful light. By him would God have us to taste the knowledge of immortality; "who being the brightness of his glory, is by so much greater than the Angels, as he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they," [Heb. i. 2, 3] For so it is written, "who maketh his Angels Spirits, and his Ministers a flame of fire," [Psal. civ. 4.—Heb. i. 7.] But to his Son, thus saith the Lord; "thou art my Son, to day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession," [Heb. i. 5.—Comp. Psal. ii. 7, 8.] And again he saith unto him; "sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool," [Heb. i. 13.—Psal. cx. 1.] But who are his enemies? even the wicked, and such who oppose their own wills to the will of God.

37. Let us therefore march on, men and brethren, with all earnestness in his holy laws. Let us consider those who fight under our earthly governors; how orderly, how readily, and with what exact obedience they perform those things that are commanded them? all are not generals, nor colonels,* nor captains,† nor inferior officers;‡ but every one in his respective rank does what is commanded him by the king, and those who have the authority over him. They who are great cannot subsist without those that are little, nor the little without the great. But there must be a mixture in all things, and then there will be use and profit too. Let us for example take our body: [1 Cor. xii. 13.] the head without the feet is nothing, neither the feet without the head. And even the smallest members of our body, are yet both necessary and useful to the whole body. But all conspire together and are subject to one common life, namely, the preservation of the whole body.

38. Let therefore our whole body be saved in Jesus

* Commanders of a thousand. † Centurions.
‡ Commanders of 50, and so on.

Christ; and let every one be subject to his neighbour, according to the order in which he is placed by the gift of God. Let not the strong man despise the weak, and let the weak see that he reverence the strong. Let the rich man distribute to the necessity of the poor; and let the poor bless God, that he has given one unto him, by whom his want may be supplied. Let the wise man shew forth his wisdom, not in words, but in good works. Let him that is humble, not bear witness to himself, but let him leave it to another to bear witness of him. Let him that is pure in flesh, not grow proud of it, knowing that it was from another that he received the gift of continence. Let us consider therefore, brethren, whereof we are made;(*x*) who, and what kind of men we came into the world, as it were out of a sepulchre, and from outer darkness. He that made us, and formed us, brought us into his own world, having prevented(*y*) us with his benefits, even before we were born. Wherefore, having received all these things from him, we ought, in every thing to give thanks unto him: to whom be glory for ever and ever.—*Amen.*

39. Foolish and unwise men, who have neither prudence nor learning, may mock and deride us; being willing to set up themselves in their own conceits: but what can a mortal man do? or what strength is there in him that is made out of the dust? for it is written, "there was no shape before mine eyes; only I heard a sound and a voice. For what? shall man be pure before the Lord? shall he be blameless in his works? behold, he trusteth not in his servants; and his Angels he charged with folly. Yea, the Heaven is not clean in his sight, how much less they that dwell in houses of clay; of which also we ourselves were made? he smote them as a moth, and from morning even unto the evening they endure not. Because they were not able to help themselves they per-

(*x*) Of what matter. (*y*) Prepared for us.

ished: he breathed upon them, and they died, because they had no wisdom. Call now if there be any that will answer thee; and to which of the Angels wilt thou look? for wrath killeth the foolish man, and envy slayeth him that is in error. I have seen the foolish taking root, but lo their habition was presently consumed. Their children were far from safety, they perished at the gates of those who were lesser than themselves; and there was no man to help them. For what was prepared for them, the righteous did eat; and they shall not be delivered from evil." [Job. iv. 16, &c.—xv. 15— iv. 19—v. 1. &c.]

40. Seeing then these things are manifest unto us, it will behove us to take care that looking into the depths of the divine knowledge, we do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do. And particularly, that we perform our offerings and service to God, at their appointed seasons: for these he has commanded to be done, not rashly and disorderly, but at certain determinate times, and hours. And therefore he has ordained by his Supreme will and authority, both where, and by what persons they are to be performed: that so all things being piously done unto all well-pleasing, they may be acceptable unto him. They therefore who make their offerings at the appointed seasons, are happy and accepted: because that obeying the commandments of the Lord, they are free from sin. "And the same care must be had of the persons that minister unto him."* For the chief Priest has his proper services; and to the Priests their proper place is appointed; and to the Levites appertain their proper ministries; and the Layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to Laymen.

41. Let every one of you therefore, brethren, bless God in his proper station, with a good conscience, and with all gravity, not exceeding the rule of his

* See Coteler. in loc.

service that is appointed to him. The daily sacrifices are not offered every where; nor the peace-offerings, nor the sacrifices appointed for sins and transgressions, but only at Jerusalem; nor in any place there, but only at the altar before the Temple; that which is offered, being first diligently examined by the High Priest and the other Ministers we before mentioned. They therefore who do any thing which is not agreeable to his will, are punished with death. Consider, brethren, that by how much the better knowledge God has vouchsafed unto us, by so much the greater danger are we exposed to.

42. The Apostles have preached to us from our Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ from God. Christ therefore was sent by God, the Apostles by Christ: so both were orderly sent, according to the will of God. For having received their command, and being thoroughly assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ; [1 Thess. i. 5.] and convinced by the word of God, with the fulness(*l*) of the Holy Spirit, they went abroad, publishing, "that the Kingdom of God was at hand." And thus preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first fruits of their conversions,* to be Bishops and Ministers over such as should afterwards believe, having first proved them by the Spirit. Nor was this any new thing: seeing that long before it was written concerning Bishops and Deacons For thus saith the Scripture, in a certain place; "I will appoint their overseers in righteousness, and their Ministers in faith."(*m*) [Isa. lx. 17.]

43. And what wonder if they, to whom such a work was committed by God in Christ, established such officers as we before mentioned; when even that blessed and faithful servant in all his house, Moses, set down in the Holy Scriptures all things that were commanded him. Whom also all the rest of the Pro-

(*l*) With the full assurance.
(*m*) Bishops, Deacons.
* Vid. Coteler in loc.

phets followed, bearing witness with one consent to those things that were appointed by him. For he, perceiving an emulation to arise among the tribes concerning the Priesthood, and that there was a strife about it, which of them should be adorned with that glorious name; commanded their twelve captains to bring to him twelve rods; every tribe being written upon its rod, according to its name, [Numb. xvii.] And he took them and bound them together, and sealed them with the seals of the twelve princes of the tribes, and laid them up in the tabernacle of witness, upon the table of God. And when he had shut the door of the tabernacle, he sealed up the keys of it, in like manner as he had done the rods; and said unto them, men and brethren, which soever tribe shall have its rod blossom, that tribe has God chosen to perform the office of a Priest, and to minister unto him in holy things.(q) And when the morning was come, he called together all Israel, six hundred thousand men, and shewed to their princes the seals, and opened the tabernacle of witness, and brought forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only to have blossomed, but also to have fruit upon it. What think you, beloved? did not Moses before know what should happen? Yes verily: but to the end there might be no division, nor tumult in Israel, he did in this manner, that the name of the true and only God might be glorified: to him be honour for ever and ever.— *Amen.*

44. So likewise our Apostles knew by our Lord Jesus Christ, that there should contentions arise upon the account of the ministry.(s) And therefore having a perfect foreknowledge of this, they appointed persons, as we have before said, and then gave direction, how when they should die, other chosen and approved men should succeed in the ministry.(t)

(q) To exercise the office of the Priesthood, and to minister, &c.

(s) About the name of the Bishoprick.

(t) Left a list of other chosen and approved persons, who should succeed them in their ministry. See Dr. Arden's disc. upon this passage. Dr. Hammond's power of the keys, c. iii. p. 415.

Wherefore we cannot think that those may justly be thrown out of their ministry, who were either appointed by them, or afterwards chosen by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church; and who have with all lowliness and innocency ministered to the flock of Christ in peace, and without self-interest, and were for a long time commended by all. For it would be no small sin in us, should we cast off those from their ministry,(v) who holily and without blame, *fulfil the duties of it*.(w) Blessed are those Priests, who having finished their course before these times, have obtained a fruitful and perfect dissolution; for they have no fear, lest any one should turn them out of the place which is now appointed for them. But we see how you have put out some, who lived reputably among you, from the ministry, which by their innocence they had adorned.

45. Ye are contentious, brethren, and zealous for things that pertain not unto salvation. Look into the holy Scriptures, which are the true words of the Holy Ghost. Ye know that there is nothing unjust or counterfeit written in them. There you shall not find that righteous men were ever cast off by such as were good themselves. They were persecuted, it is true; but it was by the wicked and unjust. They were cast into prison; but they were cast in by those that were unholy. They were stoned, but it was by transgressors. They were killed, but by accursed men, and such as had taken up an unjust envy against them. And all these things they underwent gloriously. For what shall we say, brethren? was Daniel cast into the den of lions, by men fearing God? [Dan. vi. 16.] Ananias, Azarias and Misael, were they cast into the fiery furnace by men professing the excellent and glorious worship of the Most High? [Dan. iii. 20.] God forbid. What kind of persons then were they that did these things: they were men abominable, full of

(v) Bishoprick. (w) Offer the gifts.

all wickedness; who were incensed to so great a degree, as to bring those into sufferings, who with a holy and unblamable purpose of mind worshipped God: not knowing that the Most High is the protector and defender of all such as with a pure conscience serve his holy name: to whom be glory for ever and ever.—*Amen.* But they who with a full persuasion have endured these things, are made partakers of glory and honour; and are exalted and lifted up by God in their memorial throughout all ages.—*Amen.*

46. Wherefore it will behove us also, brethren, to follow(*g*) such examples as these; for it is written, "hold fast to such as are holy; for they that do so shall be sanctified. And again in another place he saith, "with the pure thou shalt be pure, [and with the elect thou shalt be elect,](*h*) but with the perverse thou shalt be perverse," [Psal. xvii. 2.] Let us therefore join ourselves to the innocent and righteous, for such are the elect of God. Wherefore are there strifes, and anger, and divisions, and schisms, and wars among us? have we not all one God, and one Christ? is not one spirit of grace poured out upon us all? [Eph. iv. 4. 1 Cor. xii.] Have we not one calling in Christ? why then do we rent and tear in pieces the members of Christ; and raise seditions against our own body? and are come to such a height of madness, as to forget that *we were members one of another*? [Rom. xii. 5.] Remember the words of our Lord Jesus, how he said, "wo to that man, [by whom offences come](*k*) it were better for him that he had never been born, than that he should have offended one of my elect. It were better for him, that a millstone should be tied about his neck, and he should be cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of my little ones." Your schism has perverted many, has discouraged many: it has caused diffidence in many,

(*g*) To cleave to.
(*h*) Omitted by Junius, and now restored from the MS.
(*k*) For he said, Luke xvii.

and grief in us all. And yet your sedition continues still.

47. Take the Epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle into your hands; what was it he wrote to you at his first preaching the Gospel among you? (*l*) verily he did by the Spirit admonish you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos,(*m*) because that even then ye had begun to fall into parties and factions among yourselves.(*n*) Nevertheless your partiality then led you into a much less sin: forasmuch as ye placed your affections upon Apostles, men of eminent reputation in the Church; and upon another, who was greatly tried and approved of by them. But consider we pray you, who were they that have now led you astray, and lessened the reputation of that brotherly love that was so eminent among you? It is a shame, my beloved, yea a very great shame, and unworthy of your Christian profession, to hear that the most firm and antient Church of the Corinthians should, by one or two persons, be led into a sedition against its Priests.(*t*) And this report is come not only to us, but to those also that differ from us. Insomuch that the name of the Lord is blasphemed through your folly; and even ye yourselves are brought into danger by it.

48. Let us therefore with all haste put an end to this sedition; and let us fall down before the Lord, and beseech him with tears that he would be favourably reconciled to us, and restore us again to a seemly and holy course of brotherly love. For this is the gate of righteousness, opening unto life: as it is written, "open unto me the gates of righteousness; I will go in unto them and will praise the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it," [Psalm cxviii. 19, 20.] Although therefore many gates are opened, yet this gate of righteousness is that

(*l*) See Mr. Dodwell's add. ad Pearson. Chronol. p. 223. Dr. Grabe's Spicileg. to. i. p. 256.

(*m*) Spiritually send to you, 1 Cor. i. 12.

(*n*) Inclinations [for one above another.]

(*t*) See Mr. Dodwell, l. c. p. 222.

gate in Christ, at which blessed are all they that enter in, and direct their way in holiness and righteousness, doing all things without disorder. Let a man be faithful, let him be powerful in the utterance of knowledge; let him be wise in making an exact judgment of words; let him be pure in all his actions: but still by how much the more he seems to be above others, by *reason of these things*, by so much the more will it behove him to be humble minded, and to seek what is profitable to all men, and not his own advantage.

49. He that has the love that is in Christ, let him keep the commandments of Christ. For who is able to express the obligation of the love of God? what man is sufficient to declare, as is fitting, the excellency of its beauty? The height to which charity leads, is inexpressible. Charity unites us to God, "charity covers the multitude of sins," [1 Pet. iv. 8.] *Charity endures all things*, is long-suffering in all things. There is nothing base and sordid in charity: charity lifts not itself up above others; admits of no divisions; is not seditious, but does all things in peace and concord. By charity were all the elect of God made perfect: without it nothing is pleasing and acceptable in the sight of God. Through charity did the Lord join us unto himself; whilst for the love that he bore towards us, our Lord Jesus Christ gave his own blood for us, by the will of God; his flesh for our flesh, his soul for our souls.

50. Ye see, beloved, how great and wonderful a thing charity is; and how that no expressions are sufficient to declare its perfection. But who is fit to be found in it? even such only as God shall vouchsafe to make so. Let us therefore pray to him, and beseech him, that we may be worthy of it; that so we may live in charity, being unblamable, without human propensities, without respect of persons. All the ages of the world, from Adam, even unto this day, are passed away: but they who have been made perfect in love, have by the grace of God obtained a

place among the righteous; and shall be made manifest in the judgment of the kingdom of Christ. For it is written, "enter into thy chambers for a little space, until my anger and indignation shall pass away: and I will remember the good day, and will raise you up out of your graves." [Isa. xxvi. 20.] Happy then shall we be, beloved, if we shall have fulfilled the commandments of God, in the unity of love; that so, through love, our sins may be forgiven us. For so it is written, "blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sin, and in whose mouth there is no guile." [Psal. xxxii.] Now this blessing is fulfilled in those who are chosen by God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for ever and ever.—*Amen.*

51. Let us therefore, as many as have transgressed by any of the suggestions of the adversary, beg God's forgiveness.(*g*) And as for those who have been the heads of the sedition and faction among you, let them look to the common end of our hope. For as many as are endued with fear and charity,(*h*) would rather they themselves should fall into trials than their neighbours: and choose to be themselves condemned, rather than that the good and just charity delivered to us, should suffer. For it is seemly for a man to confess wherein he has transgressed; and not to harden his heart, as the hearts of those were hardened, who raised up sedition against Moses the servant of God; whose punishment was manifest unto all men, for they went down alive into the grave, death swallowed them up, [Numb. xvi.] Pharaoh and his host, and all the rulers of Egypt, their chariots also and their horsemen, were for no other cause drowned in the bottom of the red sea, and perished; but because they hardened their foolish hearts, after so many signs done in the land of Egypt by Moses the servant of God. [Exod. iv.]

(*g*) See Junius in loc. (*h*) Walk according to; Eve in.

52. Beloved, God is not indigent of any thing, nor does he demand any thing of us, but that we should confess our sins unto him. For so says the holy David, "I will confess unto the Lord, and it shall please him better than a young bullock that hath horns and hoofs," [Psal. lxix. 31.] "Let the poor see it and be glad," [Psal. l. 14.] And again he saith, "offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the most high. And call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me. The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit," [Psal. li. 17.]

53. Ye know, beloved, ye know full well, the holy Scriptures, and have thoroughly searched into the oracles of God; call them therefore to your remembrance. For when Moses went up into the mount, and tarried there forty days and forty nights in fasting and humiliation; God said unto him, "arise Moses, get thee down quickly from hence, for thy people whom thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have committed wickedness; they have soon transgressed the way that I commanded them, and have made to themselves graven images," [Exod. xxxii.—Deut. ix.] And the Lord said unto him, "I have spoken unto thee several times, saying, I have seen this people, and behold it is a stiff necked people; let me therefore destroy them, and put out their names from under Heaven. And I will make unto thee a great and a wonderful nation, that shall be much larger than this. But Moses said, not so Lord: forgive now this people their sin, or if thou wilt not, blot me also out of the book of the living." O admirable charity! O insuperable perfection! the servant speaks freely to his Lord; he beseeches him either to forgive the people, or to destroy him together with them.

54. Who is there among you that is generous? who that is compassionate? who that has any charity? let him say, if this sedition, this contention, and these schisms, be upon my account, I am ready to depart; to go away whithersoever ye please; and do whatso-

ever ye shall command me: only let the flock of Christ be in peace, with the elders that are set over it. He that shall do this, shall get to himself a very great honour in the Lord; and there is no place but what will be ready to receive him: *for the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.* [Psal. xxiv.] These things they who have their conversation towards God not to be repented of, both have done, and will always be ready to do.

55. Nay and even the Gentiles themselves have given us examples of this kind.(s) For we read, how many kings and princes, in times of pestilence, being warned by their oracles, have given up themselves unto death; that by their own blood, they might deliver their country from destruction. Others have forsaken their cities, that so they might put an end to the seditions of them. We know how many among ourselves, have given up themselves unto bonds, that thereby they might free others from them. Others have sold themselves into bondage, that they might feed their brethren, with the price of themselves. And even many women, being strengthened by the grace of God, have done many glorious and manly things on such occasions. The blessed Judith, when her city was besieged, desired the elders, that they would suffer her to go into the camp of their enemies, [Judith viii, ix, x, xiii.] and she went out exposing herself to danger, for the love she bore to her country and her people that were besieged; and the Lord delivered Holofernes into the hands of a woman. Nor did Esther, being perfect in faith, expose herself to any less hazard, for the delivery of the twelve tribes of Israel, in danger of being destroyed. [Esther vii. viii.] For by fasting and humbling herself, she entreated the great maker of all things, the God of spirits; so that beholding the humility of her soul, he delivered the people, for whose sake she was in peril.

(s) But that we may bring the examples of heathens.

56. Wherefore let us also pray for such as are fallen into sin.(z) That being endued with humility and moderation, they may submit not unto us, but to the will of God. For by this means they shall obtain a fruitful and perfect remembrance, with mercy, both in our prayers to God, and in our mention of them before his saints.(b) Let us receive correction, at which no man ought to repine. Beloved, the reproof and the correction which we exercise towards one another, is good, and exceeding profitable: for it unites us the more closely to the will of God. For so says the holy scripture, "the Lord corrected me, but he did not deliver me over unto death, [Psal. cxviii. 18.] For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth, [Prov. iii. 11.] The righteous, saith he, shall instruct me in mercy and reprove me; but let not oil of sinners make fat my head," [Psal. cxli. 5.] And again he saith, "happy is the man whom God correcteth; therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty. For he maketh sore and bindeth up; he woundeth and his hands make whole. He shall deliver thee in six troubles; yea in seven there shall no evil touch thee. In famine he shall redeem thee from death; and in war from the power of the sword. Thou shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue, neither shalt thou be afraid of destruction when it cometh. Thou shalt laugh at the wicked and sinners; neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth. The wild beasts shall be at peace with thee. Then shalt thou know that thy house shall be in peace, and the habitation of thy tabernacle shall not err. Thou shalt know also that thy seed shall be great, and thy offspring as the grass of the earth. Thou shalt come to thy grave as the ripe corn, that is taken in due time; like as a shock of corn cometh in, in its season" [Job v. 17, &c.] Ye see, beloved, how there shall be a defence to those that are corrected of

(z) Viz. that of schism. (b) i. e. Our fellow christians

the Lord For being a good instructor, he is willing to admonish us by his holy discipline.

57. Do ye therefore who laid the first foundation of this sedition, submit yourselves unto your priests; and be instructed unto repentance, bending the knees of your hearts. Learn to be subject, laying aside all proud and arrogant boasting of your tongues. For it is better for you to be found little, and approved, in the sheepfold of Christ, than to seem to yourselves better than others, and be cast out of his fold.* For thus speaks the *excellent and* all virtuous wisdom,(*d*) "behold I will pour out the word of my Spirit upon you, I will make known my speech unto you. Because I called and ye would not hear, I stretched out my words and ye regarded not. But ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof. I will also laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh. When your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction as a whirlwind, when distress and anguish cometh upon you. Then shall ye call upon me, but I will not hear you; the wicked shall seek me, but they shall not find me. For that they hated knowledge, and did not seek the fear of the Lord. They would not hearken unto my counsel: they despised all my reproof. Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own ways, and be filled with their own wickedness." [Prov. i. 23. &c.]

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58. Now God, the inspector of all things, the Father of Spirits, and the Lord of all flesh, who hath chosen our Lord Jesus Christ, and us by him, to be his peculiar people; grant to every soul of man that calleth upon his glorious and holy name, faith, fear, peace, long-suffering, patience, temperance, holiness and sobriety, unto all well-pleasing in his sight; through our high priest and protector Jesus Christ, by

(*) See Junius in loc. (*d*) See Coteler. in loc.

whom be glory and majesty, and power, and honour, unto him now and forever more.—*Amen.*

59. The messengers whom we have sent unto you, Claudius Ephebus, and Valerius Bito, with Fortunatus, send back to us again with all speed in peace and with joy, that they may the sooner acquaint us with your peace and concord, so much prayed for and desired by us: and that we may rejoice in your good order.

60. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and with all that are any where called by God through him: to whom be honour and glory, and might and majesty, and eternal dominion, by Christ Jesus, from everlasting to everlasting.—*Amen.*

THE

EPISTLE OF ST. POLYCARP

TO THE

PHILIPPIANS.

Polycarp and the Presbyters that are with him, to the Church of God which is at Philippi; mercy unto you, and peace from God Almighty; and the Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour, be multiplied.

1. I REJOICED greatly with you in our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye received the images of a true love, and accompanied, as it behoved you, those who were in bonds, becoming Saints; which are the crowns of such as are truly chosen by God and our Lord: as also that the root of the faith which was preached from antient times, remains firm in you to this day; and brings forth fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered himself to be brought even to the death for our sins. Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death. Whom having not seen, ye love; in whom though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory, [Acts ii. 24—1 Pet. i. 8.] Into which many desire to enter, knowing *that by grace ye are saved*, [Eph. ii. 8,] not by works, but by the will of God, through Jesus Christ.

2. Wherefore girding up the loins of your mind, serve the Lord with fear, and in truth, [1 Pet. i. 13—Psal. ii. 11.] laying aside all empty and vain speech, and the error of many; *believing in him that raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and hath given him glory* and a throne at his right hand, [1 Pet. i. 21.] To whom all things are made subject, *both that*

are in Heaven, and that are in earth; whom every living creature shall worship, [Phil. ii. 10] who shall come to be the judge of the quick and dead: whose blood God shall require of them that believe not in him. But he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also raise up us *in like manner*, if we do his will, and walk according to his commandments; and love those things which he loved: abstaining from all *unrighteousness*, *inordinate affection*, and *love of money*;(g) from *evil speaking; false witness;* not *rendering evil for evil or railing for railing*, or striking for striking, or cursing for cursing; but remembering what the Lord has taught us, saying, "judge not, and ye shall not be judged; forgive and ye shall be forgiven," [Luke vi. 37.—Matt. vii. 1.] be ye merciful, and ye shall obtain mercy; "for with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again." And again, that "blessed are the poor, and they that are persecuted for righteousness sake; for theirs is the kingdom of God." [Matt. v. 3, 10.—Luke vi. 10.]

3. These things, my brethren, I took not the liberty of myself to write unto you concerning righteousness, but you yourselves before encouraged me to it. For neither can I, nor any other such as I am, come up to the wisdom of the blessed and renowned Paul; who being himself in person with those who then lived, did with all exactness and soundness teach the word of truth;(i) and being gone from you, wrote an Epistle to you;(k) into which if you look, you will be able to edify yourselves in the faith that has been delivered unto you; which is the mother of us all; being followed with hope, and led on by a general love, both towards God and towards Christ, and towards our neighbour. For if any man has these

(g) Eph. iv. 19. Coloss. iii. 5. 1 Pet. iii. 9.
(i) περὶ ἀληθείας concerning truth.
(k) Epistles. Vid. Annot. Coteler. in loc.

things, he has fulfilled the law of righteousness; for he that has charity is far from all sin.

4. But the love of money is the root of all evil.(*m*) Knowing therefore that as we brought nothing into this world, so neither may we carry any thing out; let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness: and teach ourselves first to walk according to the commandments of the Lord; and then your wives to walk likewise according to the faith that is given to them; in charity, and in purity; loving their own husbands with all sincerity, and all others alike with all temperance; and to bring up their children in the instruction and fear of the Lord. The widows likewise teach that they be sober as to what concerns the faith of the Lord: praying always for all men; being far from all detraction, evil speaking, false witness; from covetousness, and from all evil: knowing that they are the altars of God, who sees all blemishes, and from whom nothing is hid: who searches out the very reasonings and thoughts, and secrets of our hearts

5. Knowing therefore that God is not mocked, we ought to walk worthy both of his command and of his glory. Also the Deacons must be blameless before him, as the ministers of God in Christ, and not of men. Not false accusers, not double tongued, not lovers of money; but moderate in all things; compassionate, careful; walking according to the truth of the Lord, who was the servant of all: whom if we please in this present world, we shall also be made partakers of that which is to come, according as he has promised to us, that he will raise us from the dead, and that if we shall walk worthy of him, we shall also reign together with him, if we believe. In like manner the younger men must be unblamable in all things: above all, taking care of their purity, and to restrain themselves from all evil. For it is good to be

(*m*) Beginning of all troubles, or difficulties. χαλεπων. 1 Tim. iv. 1.

cut off from the lusts that are in the world; because *every such lust warreth against the Spirit; and neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God;* [1 Pet. ii. 11—1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.] nor they who do such things as are foolish and unreasonable. Wherefore ye must needs abstain from all these things; being subject to the priests and deacons, as unto God and Christ. The virgins admonish to walk in a spotless and pure conscience.

6. And let the elders be compassionate and merciful towards all:(*y*) turning them from their errors; seeking out those that are weak; not forgetting the widows, the fatherless, and the poor; but always *providing what is good both in the sight of God and man*, [Rom. xii. 17.] Abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unrighteous judgment: and especially being free from all covetousness. Not easy to believe any thing against any; not severe in judgment, knowing that we are all debtors in point of sin. If therefore we pray to the Lord that he would forgive us, we ought also to forgive others; for we are all in the sight of our Lord and God, and "must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ," [Rom. xiv. 10—2 Cor. v. 10.] and shall every one give an account of himself. Let us therefore serve him in fear, and with all reverence as both himself hath commanded; and as the Apostles who have preached the Gospel unto us, and the prophets who have foretold the coming of our Lord, *have taught us*: being zealous of what is good; abstaining from all offence, and from false brethren; and from those who bear the name of Christ in hypocrisy; who deceive vain men.

7. For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, he is antichrist; [1 John iv. 1.] and whoever does not confess his suffering upon the cross,(*b*) is from the devil. And whosoever perverts

(*y*) Ezek. xxxiv. 4. (*b*) The martyrdom of the cross.

the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says that there shall neither be any resurrection, nor judgment, he is the first born of Satan. Wherefore leaving the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to the word that was delivered to us from the beginning; *watching unto prayer*, [1 Pet. iv. 7.] and persevering in fasting: with supplication beseeching the all seeing God *not to lead us into temptation*; [Matt. vi. 13.] as the Lord hath said, "the spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak," [Matt. xxvi. 41.]

8. Let us therefore without ceasing hold stedfastly to him who is our hope, and the earnest of our righteousness, even Jesus Christ; who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree; who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth, [1 Pet. ii. 22, 24.] But suffered *all* for us that we might live through him. Let us therefore imitate his patience; and if we suffer for his name let us glorify him; for this example he has given us by himself, and so have we believed.

9. Wherefore I exhort all of you that ye obey the word of righteousness, and exercise all patience; which ye have seen set forth before your eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zozimus, and Rufus, but in others among yourselves; and in Paul himself, and the rest of the Apostles: being confident of this, that all these have not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and are gone to the place that was due to them from the Lord; with whom also they suffered. For they loved not this present world, but him who died and was raised again by God for us.

10. Stand therefore in these things, and follow the example of the Lord; being firm and immutable in the faith, lovers of the brotherhood, lovers of one another: companions together in the truth, being kind and gentle towards each other, despising none.(*f*) When it is in your power to do good defer it not, for

(*f*) Yielding to each other the mildness of the Lord.

charity delivereth from death. Be all of you subject one to another, having your conversation honest among the Gentiles; [Tobit. xii. 9.—1 Pet ii. 12.] that by your good works, both ye yourselves may receive praise, and the Lord may not be blasphemed through you, [Rom. ii. 24.—Titus ii. 5.] But wo be to him by whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed. Therefore teach all men sobriety; in which do ye also exercise yourselves.

11. I am greatly afflicted for Valens, who was once a presbyter among you; that he should so little understand the place that was given to him in the Church. Wherefore I admonish you that ye abstain from covetousness;(*h*) and that ye be chaste and true of speech. Keep yourselves from all evil.* For he that in these things cannot govern himself, how shall he be able to prescribe them to another? if a man does not keep himself from covetousness,(*i*) he shall be polluted with idolatry, and be judged as if he were a Gentile. But who of you are ignorant of the judgment of God? do we not know that the Saints shall judge the world, as Paul teaches, [1 Cor. vi. 2.] But I have neither perceived nor heard any thing of this kind in you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured; [Phil. i.] and who are named in the beginning of this Epistle. For he glories of you in all the Churches who then only knew God; for we did not then know him. Wherefore, my brethren, I am exceedingly sorry both for him, and for his wife; to whom God grant a true repentance. And be ye also moderate upon this occasion; and look not upon such as enemies, but call them back as suffering and erring members, that ye may save your whole body: for by so doing, ye shall edify your own selves.

12. For I trust that ye are well exercised in the

(*h*) Concupiscence, or immoderate and filthy lusts. So Dr. Hammond on Rom. i. 29, 1.

* Titus v. 22. Epist. v. 5. Coloss iii. 5.

(*i*) As before Dr. Hammond on 1 Cor. v. 10, 1.

holy Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you: but at present it is not granted unto me to practice that which is written, "be angry and sin not;" and again, "let not the sun go down upon your wrath," [Psal. iv. 4—Eph. iv. 26.] Blessed is he that remembereth these things; which also I trust you do. Now the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and he himself who is our everlasting High Priest, the Son of God, even Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and in truth, and in all meekness and lenity; in patience and long suffering, in forbearance and chastity: and grant unto you a lot and portion among his Saints; and us with you, and to all that are under the Heavens, who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his Father "who raised him from the dead," [Gal. i. 1.] Pray for all the saints; pray also for "kings, and all that are in authority," [1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.] and for those who persecute you and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross: that your fruit may be manifest in all; and that ye may be perfect in Christ.

13. Ye wrote to me, both ye and also Ignatius,* that if any one went from hence into Syria, he should bring your letters with him; which also I will take care of, as soon as I shall have a convenient opportunity; either by myself, or him whom I shall send upon your account. The Epistles of Ignatius which he wrote unto us,(*n*) together with what others of his have come to our hands, we have sent to you according to your order; which are subjoined to this Epistle; by which you may be greatly profited; for they treat of faith and patience, and of all things that pertain to edification in the Lord Jesus.

14. What you know certainly of Ignatius, and those that are with him, signify unto us.

These things have I written unto you by Crescens.

* See Annot. Usser in loc.

(*n*) i. e. To himself, and to the Church of Smyrna.

whom by this present Epistle I have recommended to you, and do now again commend. For he has had his conversation without blame among us; and I suppose also with you. Ye will also have regard unto his sister when she shall come unto you. Be ye safe in the Lord Jesus Christ; and in favour with all yours.(*p*)—*Amen.*

(*p*) His grace be with you all.—*Amen.*

THE

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE

EPHESIANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church which is at Ephesus in Asia, most deservedly happy; being blessed through the greatness and fulness of God the Father, and predestinated before the world began, that it should be always unto an enduring and unchangeable glory; being united and chosen through his true passion, according to the will of the Father, and Jesus Christ our God; all happiness, by Jesus Christ, and his undefiled grace.

1. I HAVE heard(*e*) of your name much beloved in God, which ye have very justly attained(*f*) by a habit of righteousness,(*g*) according to the faith and love which is in Jesus Christ our Saviour: how that being followers of God, and stirring up yourselves by the blood of Christ, ye have perfectly accomplished the work that was connatural unto you. For hearing that I came bound from Syria, for the common name and hope, [viz. of Christ,] trusting through your prayers to fight with beasts at Rome; that so by suffering I may become indeed the disciple of him who gave himself to God, an offering and sacrifice for us, [ye hastened to see me.]* I received therefore, in the name of God, your whole multitude in Onesimus; who by inexpressible love is ours, but according to

(*e*) Received Vid. Epist. Interpol.
(*f*) Vol. Coteler in loc. Comp Gal. iv. 8.
(*g*) Pearson. Vind Ignat Par. 2. Cap. 14.
* Eph. v. 2.—See the old Lat. Ed. of Bishop Usher.

the flesh is your Bishop: whom I beseech you by Jesus Christ, to love; and that you would all strive to be like unto him. And blessed be God, who has granted unto you, who are so worthy of him, to enjoy such an excellent Bishop.

2. For what concerns my fellow servant Burrhus, and your most blessed deacon in things pertaining to God; I entreat you that he may tarry longer, both for your's, and your Bishop's honour. And Crocus also worthy both our God and you, whom I have received as the pattern of your love, has in all things refreshed me, as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ shall also refresh him; together with Onesimus, and Burrhus, and Euplus, and Fronto, in whom I have, as to your charity, seen all of you. And may I always have joy of you, if I shall be worthy of it. It is therefore fitting that you should by all means(*p*) glorify Jesus Christ who hath glorified you: that by a uniform obedience ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment; and may all speak the same things concerning every thing;(*r*) and that being subject to your Bishop, and the Presbytery, ye may be wholly and thoroughly sanctified.

3. These things I prescribe to you, not as if I were somebody extraordinary: for though I am bound for his name, I am not yet perfect in Christ Jesus But now I begin to learn, and I speak to you as fellow-disciples together with me. For I ought to have been stirred up by you, in faith, in admonition, in patience, in long suffering: but forasmuch as charity suffers me not to be silent towards you, I have first taken upon me to exhort you, that ye would all run together according to the will of God. For even Jesus Christ, our insuperable life, is sent by the will of the Father; as the Bishops, appointed unto the utmost bounds of the earth, are by the will of Jesus Christ.

(*p*) In all manner of ways. (*r*) 1 Cor. i. 10.

4. Wherefore it will become you to run together according to the will of your Bishop, as also ye do. For your famous Presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the Bishop, as the strings are to the harp. Therefore in your concord, and agreeing charity, Jesus Christ is sung; and every single person among you makes up the chorus: that so being all consonant in love, and taking up the song of God, ye may in a perfect unity, with one voice, sing to the Father by Jesus Christ; to the end that he may both hear you, and perceive by your works that ye are indeed the members of his Son: wherefore it is profitable for you to live in an unblamable unity, that so ye may always have a fellowship with God.

5. For if I in this little time have had such a familiarity with your Bishop, I mean not a carnal, but spiritual acquaintance with him; how much more must I think you happy who are so joined to him, as the Church is to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father; that so all things may agree in the same unity? Let no man deceive himself; if a man be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two be of such force, *as we are told*, [Matt. xviii. 19.] how much more powerful shall that of the Bishop and the whole Church be? He therefore that does not come together into the same place with it, is proud, and has already condemned himself. For it is written, "God resisteth the proud," [James iv. 6.] Let us take heed therefore, that we do not set ourselves against the Bishop, that we may be subject to God.

6. The more any one sees his Bishop silent, the more let him revere him. For whomsoever the master of the house sends to be over his own household, we ought in like manner to receive him, as we would do him that sent him. It is therefore evident that we ought to look upon the Bishop, even as we would do upon the Lord himself. And indeed Onesimus himself does greatly commend your good order in God;

that you all live according to the truth, and that no heresy dwells among you. For neither do ye hearken to any one more than to Jesus Christ speaking to you in truth.

7. For some there are who carry(*h*) about the name of Christ in deceitfulness, but do things unworthy of God; whom ye must flee, as ye would do so many wild beasts. For they are ravening dogs, who bite secretly: against whom ye must guard yourselves, as men hardly to be cured. There is one physician, both fleshly and spiritual; made and not made; God incarnate; true life in death; both of Mary and of God: first passable, then impassable; even Jesus Christ our Lord.

8. Wherefore let no man deceive you; as indeed neither are ye deceived, being wholly the servants of God. For inasmuch as there is no contention, nor strife among you, to trouble you, ye must needs live according to God's will. My soul be for yours;(*n*) and I myself the expiatory offering for your Church of Ephesus, so famous throughout the world. They that are of the flesh cannot do the works of the Spirit; neither they that are of the Spirit the works of the flesh. As he that has faith, cannot be an infidel;(*p*) nor he that is an infidel have faith. But even those things which ye do according to the flesh are spiritual; for as much as ye do all things in Jesus Christ.

9. Nevertheless I have heard of some who have passed by you, having perverse doctrine: whom ye did not suffer to sow among you; but stopped your ears, that ye might not receive those things that were sown by them: as being the stones of the temple of the Father,(*t*) prepared for his building;(*u*) and drawn

(*h*) Accustom themselves to carry.

(*n*) Vid. Voss. Annot. in loc. Pearson. Vind. Ign. par. 2. p. 207, 208.

(*p*) As neither is faith the things of infidelity, nor infidelity the things of faith.

(*t*) Comp. Eph. ii. 20. 21, 22. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

(*u*) The building of God the Father.

upon high by the cross of Christ, as by an engine ;(*w*) using the Holy Ghost as the rope : your faith being your support ; and your charity the way that leads unto God. Ye are therefore, with all your companions in the same journey, full of God ; his spiritual temples, full of Christ, full of holiness ; adorned in all things with the commands of Christ : in whom also I rejoice that I have been thought worthy by this present Epistle to converse, and joy together with you ; that with respect to the other life, ye love nothing but God only.

10. Pray also without ceasing for other men : for there is hope of repentance in them, that they may attain unto God. Let them therefore at least be instructed by your works, if they will be no other way. Be ye mild at their anger ; humble at their boasting : to their blasphemies, return your prayers : to their error, your firmness in the faith : when they are cruel, be ye gentle ; not endeavouring to imitate their ways : (let us be their brethren in all kindness and moderation, but let us be followers of the Lord ; for who was ever more unjustly used ? more destitute ? more despised ?) that so no herb of the devil may be found in you ; but ye may remain in all holiness and sobriety both of body and spirit, in Christ Jesus.(*b*)

11. The last times are come upon us : let us therefore be very reverent, and fear the long suffering of God, that it be not to us unto condemnation. For let us either fear the wrath that is to come, or let us love the grace that we at present enjoy ; that by the one or other of these,(*c*) we may be found in Christ Jesus, unto true life. Besides him, let nothing be worthy of you ; for whom also I bear about these bonds, those spiritual jewels, in which I would to God that I might arise through your prayers : of which I entreat you to make me always partaker, that I may

(*w*) By the engine of the cross, &c. Pearson, ib. part 2, cap. 12.
(*b*) In Jesus Christ both bodily and spiritually. 1 Cor. vii. 34.
(*c*) One of the two, only that we may be found, &c.

be found in the lot of the Christians of Ephesus, who have always agreed with the Apostles, through the power of Jesus Christ.

12. I know both who I am, and to whom I write: I, a person condemned; ye, such as have obtained mercy: I, exposed to danger: ye, confirmed against danger. Ye are the passage of those that are killed for God; the companions of Paul in the mysteries of the Gospel; the holy, the martyr, the deservedly most happy Paul: at whose feet may I be found, when I shall have attained unto God; who throughout all his Epistle makes mention of you in Christ Jesus.(*m*)

13. Let it be your care therefore to come more fully together, to the praise and glory of God. For when ye meet fully together in the same place, the powers of the devil are destroyed, and his mischief is dissolved by the unity of your faith. And indeed, nothing is better than peace; by which all war both spiritual and earthly, is abolished.(*p*)

14. Of all which nothing is hid from you, if ye have perfect faith and charity in Christ Jesus, which are the beginning and end of life. For the beginning is faith; the end charity. And these two joined together, are of God: but all other things which concern a holy life are the consequences of these. No man professing a true faith, sinneth; neither does he who has charity, hate *any*. *The tree is made manifest by its fruit*, [Matt xii. 33.] So they who profess themselves to be Christians, are known by what they do.(*r*) For Christianity is not the work of an outward profession; but shews itself in the power of faith, if a man be found faithful unto the end.

15. It is better for a man to hold his peace, and be;(*s*) than to say, *he is a Christian*, and not to be-

(*m*) Vid. Coteler. in loc. Pears. Vind. Ign. par. 2. cap. 10.
(*p*) Of things in Heaven, and of things on Earth.
(*r*) Shall be seen or made manifest.
(*s*) Speaking, not to be.

It is good to teach; if what he says, he does likewise. There is therefore one master who spake, and it was done; and even those things which he did without speaking are worthy of the Father. He that possesses the word of Jesus, is truly able to hear his very silence, that he may be perfect; and both do according to what he speaks, and be known by those things of which he is silent. There is nothing hid from God, but even our secrets are nigh unto him. Let us therefore do all things, as becomes those who have God dwelling in them; that we may be his temples, and he may be our God: as also he is, and will manifest himself before our faces, by those things *for which* we justly love him.

16. Be not deceived, my brethren: those that corrupt families by adultery, shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* If therefore they who do this according to the flesh, have suffered death;(*u*) how much more shall he die, who by his wicked doctrine corrupts the faith of God, for which Christ was crucified? he that is thus defiled,(*x*) shall depart into unquenchable fire, and so also shall he that hearkens to him.

17. For this cause did the Lord suffer the ointment to be poured on his head,(*b*) that he might breathe the breath of immortality unto his Church. Be not ye therefore anointed with the evil savour of the doctrine of the prince of this world: let him not take you captive from the life that is set before you. And why are we not all wise; seeing we have received the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ? Why do we suffer ourselves foolishly to perish; not considering the gift which the Lord has truly sent to us?

18. Let my life be sacrificed for the doctrine of the

* The corrupters of houses. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.
(*u*) 1 Cor. x. 8.
(*x*) Such a one being become defiled.
(*b*) Receive ointment. Psal. xliv. 8. cxxxii. 2.

cross ;(*e*) which is indeed a scandal to the unbelievers, but to us is salvation and life eternal. *Where is the wise man? where is the disputer?* [1 Cor. i. 20.] where is the boasting of those who are called wise? for our God Jesus Christ, was according to the dispensation of God, conceived in the womb of Mary, of the seed of David by the Holy Ghost: he was born, and baptized, that through his passion, he might purify water, to the washing away of sin.

19. Now the virginity of Mary, and he who was born of her, was kept in secret from the prince of this world; as was also the death of our Lord; three of the mysteries the most spoken of throughout the world, yet done in secret by God.(*k*) How then was our Saviour manifested to the world? a star shone in Heaven beyond all the other stars, and its light was inexpressible, and its novelty struck terror into men's minds. All the rest of the stars, together with the sun and moon, were the chorus to this star: but that sent out its light exceedingly above them all. And men began to be troubled to think whence this new star came so unlike to all the others. Hence all the power of magic became dissolved; and every bond of wickedness was destroyed; men's ignorance was taken away, and the old kingdom abolished; God himself appearing in the form of a man, for the renewal of eternal life. From thence began what God had prepared: from thenceforth things were disturbed; forasmuch as he designed to abolish death.

20. But if Jesus Christ shall give me grace through your prayers, and it be his will, I purpose in a second Epistle which I will suddenly write unto you to manifest to you more fully the dispensation of which I have now begun to speak, unto the new man, which is Jesus Christ; both in his faith, and charity; in his suffering, and in his resurrection: especially if the Lord shall make known unto me, that ye all by name

(*e*) See Dr. Smith's note in loc. 1 Cor. i. 18, 23, 24.
(*k*) Silence, or quietness. See Rom. xvi. 25.

come together in common in one faith, and in one Jesus Christ; who was of the race of David according to the flesh; the son of man, and Son of God, obeying your Bishop and the Presbytery with an entire affection; breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality; our antidote that we should not die, but live forever in Christ Jesus.

21. My soul be for yours, and theirs whom ye have sent, to the glory of God; even unto Smyrna, from whence also I write to you; giving thanks unto the Lord, and loving Polycarp even as I do you. Remember me, as Jesus Christ does remember you. Pray for the Church which is in Syria, from whence I am carried bound to Rome; being the least of all the faithful which are there, as I have been thought worthy to be found to the glory of God. Fare ye well in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, our common hope.—*Amen.*

TO THE EPHESIANS.

THE

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE

MAGNESIANS.

Ignatius who is also called Theophorus; to the blessed [Church](*a*) by the grace of God the Father in Jesus Christ our Saviour: in whom I salute the Church which is at Magnesia near the Meander; and wish it all joy, in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ.

I. WHEN I heard of your well ordered love and charity in God, being full of joy, I desired much to speak unto you in the faith of Jesus Christ. For having been thought worthy to obtain a most excellent name,(*d*) in the bonds which I carry about,(*e*) I salute the Churches; wishing in them a union both of the body and Spirit of Jesus Christ, our eternal life; as also of faith and charity, to which nothing is preferred: but especially of Jesus and the Father; in whom if we undergo all the injuries of the prince of this present world, and escape, we shall enjoy God.

II. Seeing then I have been judged worthy to see you, by Damas your most excellent Bishop; and by your very worthy Presbyters, Bassus, and Apollonius; and by my fellow servant Sotio the deacon; in whom I rejoice, forasmuch as he is subject unto his Bishop as to the grace of God, and to the Presbytery

(*a*) Vid. Interpr. Lat. Epist. interpol.

(*d*) Been vouchsafed a name carrying a great deal of divinity in it.

(*e*) See Bishop Pearson. Vind. Ign. par. 2, cap. 12, page 146.

as to the law of Jesus Christ; I determined to write unto you.(*k*)

3. Wherefore it will become you also not to use your Bishop too familiarly upon the account of his youth;(*l*) but to yield all reverence to him according to the power of God the Father: as also I perceive that your holy Presbyters do; not considering his age,(*m*) which indeed to appearance is young; but as becomes those who are prudent in God, submitting to him, or rather not to him, but to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ the Bishop of us all. It will therefore behove you, with all sincerity, to obey your Bishop; in honour of him whose pleasure it is that ye should do so, because he that does not do so, deceives not the Bishop whom he sees, but affronts him that is invisible. For whatsoever of this kind is done, it reflects not upon man, but upon God, who knows the secrets of our hearts.*

4. It is therefore fitting, that we should not only be called Christians, but be so. As some call indeed their governor, Bishop; but yet do all things without him. But I can never think that such as these have a good conscience, seeing they are not gathered together thoroughly according to God's commandment.

5. Seeing then all things have an end, there are these two indifferently set before us, death and life; and every one shall depart unto his proper place. For as there are two sorts of coins, the one of God, the other of the world; and each of these has its proper inscription engraven upon it; so also is it here. The unbelievers are of this world; but the faithful, through charity, have the character of God the Father by Jesus Christ: by whom if we are not readily disposed to die after the likeness of his passion, his life is not in us.

(*k*) Apud Vet. Lat. inter. *Glorificato Deum Patrem D. nostri Jesu Christi.*

(*l*) Vid. Voss. Annot. in loc. Pearson. Præf. ad Vind. Ignat.

(*m*) Seeming youthful state.

* Vid. Epist. Intern. ad loc.

6. Forasmuch therefore as I have in the persons before mentioned, seen all of you in faith and charity; I exhort you that ye study to do all things in a divine concord: your Bishop presiding in the place of God, your Presbyters in the place of the council of the Apostles; and your Deacons most dear to me, being entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ; who was with the Father before all ages, and appeared in the end to us.(z) Wherefore taking the same holy course, see that ye all reverence one another: and let no one look upon his neighbour after the flesh, but do you all mutually love each other in Jesus Christ. Let there be nothing that may be able to make a division among you; but be ye united to your Bishop, and those who preside over you, to be your pattern and direction in the way to immortality.

7. As therefore the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to him; neither by himself nor yet by his Apostles; so neither do ye do any thing without your Bishop and Presbyters: neither endeavour to let any thing appear rational to yourselves apart; but being come together into the same place, have one common prayer; one supplication; one mind; one hope; in charity and in joy undefiled. There is one Lord Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is better. Wherefore come ye all together as unto one temple of God; as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ; who proceeded from one Father, and exists in one, and is returned *to one*.*

8. Be not deceived with strange doctrines; nor with old fables which are unprofitable. For if we still continue to live according to the Jewish law, we do confess ourselves not to have received grace. For even the most holy prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. And for this cause were they persecuted, being inspired by his grace, to convince the unbelievers and

(z) Was made manifest. Hebr. ix. 26.

* John x. 30—xiv. 11, 12—xvii. 21, 22.—Eph. iv. 3. 4, 5, 6.—John xvi. 28.

disobedient that there is one God who has manifested himself by Jesus Christ his Son; who is his eternal word, not coming forth from silence, who in all things pleased him that sent him, [John i. 1.]

9. Wherefore if they who were brought up in these antient laws came nevertheless to the newness of hope; no longer observing Sabbaths, but keeping the Lord's day, in which also our life is sprung up by him, and through his death, whom yet some deny: (by which mystery we have been brought to believe, and therefore wait that we may be found the disciples of Jesus Christ, our only master:) how shall we be able to live different from him; whose disciples the very prophets themselves being, did by the Spirit expect him as their master. And therefore he whom they justly waited for, being come, raised them up from the dead, [Mat. xxvii. 52.]

10. Let us not then be insensible of his goodness; for should he have dealt with us according to our works, we had not now had a being.(*l*) Wherefore being become his disciples, let us learn to live according to the rules of Christianity: for whosoever is called by any other name besides this, he is not of God. Lay aside therefore the old, and sour, and evil leaven; and be changed into the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be ye salted in him, lest any one among you should be corrupted; for by your Saviour ye shall be judged.(*n*) It is absurd to name Jesus Christ, and to Judaize. For the Christian religion did not embrace the Jewish, but the Jewish the Christian; that so every tongue that believed might be gathered together unto God.

11. These things, my beloved, I write unto you; not that I know of any among you that lie under this error: but as one of the least among you, I am desirous to forewarn you that ye fall not into the snares

(*l*) Vid. Annot. Voss. in loc. Should he have imitated our works. Gr.

(*n*) Convicted, overthrown.

of vain doctrine: but that ye be fully instructed in the birth and suffering, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, our hope; which was accomplished in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate, and that most truly and certainly; and from which God forbid that any among you should be turned aside.

12 May I therefore have joy of you in all things, if I shall be worthy of it. For though I am bound, yet am I not worthy to be compared to one of you that are at liberty. I know that ye are not puffed up; for ye have Jesus Christ in your hearts. And especially when I commend you, I know that ye are ashamed, as it is written, *the just man condemneth himself*, [Prov. xviii. 17. Sept.]

13. Study therefore to be confirmed in the doctrine of our Lord, and of his Apostles; that so whatsoever ye do, ye may prosper both in body and spirit; in faith and charity; in the Son, and in the Father, and in the Holy Spirit; in the beginning, and in the end: together with your most worthy Bishop, and the well-wrought spiritual crown of your Presbytery; and your deacons which are according to God. Be subject to your Bishop, and to one another, as Jesus Christ to the Father according to the flesh; and the Apostles both to Christ, and to the Father, and to the Holy Ghost; that so ye may be united both in body and Spirit.

14. Knowing you to be full of God, I have the more briefly exhorted you. Be mindful of me in your prayers, that I may attain unto God; and of the Church that is in Syria, from which I am not worthy to be called. For I stand in need of your joint prayers in God, and of your charity, that the Church which is in Syria may be thought worthy to be nourished by your Church.(z)

15. The Ephesians from Smyrna salute you,(a) from which place I write unto you; (being present

(z) Indeed Vid. Epist. Interpol. in loc.
(a) Which came to Smyrna upon my account.

here to the glory of God, in like manner as you are,) who have in all things refreshed me ; together with Polycarp the Bishop of the Smyrneans. The rest of the Churches, in the honour of Jesus Christ, salute you. Farewell, and be ye strengthed in the concord of God ; enjoying his inseparable Spirit, which is Jesus Christ.

TO THE MAGNESIANS.

THE

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE

TRALLIANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the holy Church which is at Tralles in Asia; beloved of God, the Father of Jesus Christ; elect, and worthy of God, having peace through the flesh, and blood, and passion of Jesus Christ our hope; in the resurrection which is by him: which also I salute in its fulness, continuing in the Apostolical character; wishing all joy and happiness unto it.

1. I HAVE heard of your blameless and constant disposition through patience, which not only appears in your outward conversation,(*f*) but is naturally rooted, and grounded in you: in like manner as Polybius your Bishop has declared unto me; who came to me to Smyrna, by the will of God and Jesus Christ; and so rejoiced together with me in my bonds for Jesus Christ, that in effect I saw your whole Church in him. Having therefore received the testimony of your good will towards me for God's sake, by him; I seemed to find you,(*l*) as also I knew that ye were, the followers of God.

2. For whereas ye are subject to your Bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ; who died for us, that so believing in his death, ye might escape death. It is therefore necessary, that as ye do, so without your Bishop you should do nothing: also

(*f*) Which you have not according to use, but according to possession.

(*l*) Vid. Vossium in loc.

be ye subject to your Presbyters, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our hope; in whom if we walk, we shall be found *in him*.(o) The deacons also, as being the *ministers* of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, must by all means please all. For they are not the ministers of meat and drink, but of the Church of God. Wherefore they must avoid all offences, as *they would do* fire.

3. In like manner let all reverence the deacons as Jesus Christ;(q) and the Bishop as the Father, and the Presbyters as the Sanhedrim of God, and college of the Apostles. Without these there is no Church. Concerning all which I am persuaded that ye think after the very same manner: for I have received, and even now have with me the pattern of your love, in your Bishop. Whose very look is instructive;(t) and whose mildness powerful;(u) whom I am persuaded the very atheists themselves cannot but reverence. But because I have a love towards you, I will not write any more sharply unto you about this matter, though I very well might; but now I have done so; lest being a condemned man, I should seem to prescribe to you as an Apostle.

4. I have great knowledge in God; but I refrain myself, lest I should perish in my boasting. For now I ought the more to fear, and not hearken to those that *would* puff me up. For they that speak to me, *in my praise*, chasten me. For I indeed desire to suffer, but I cannot tell whether I am worthy so to do. And this desire,(z) though to others it does not appear, yet to myself it is *for that very reason* the more violent. I have therefore need of moderation; by which the prince of this world *is destroyed*.

5. Am I not able to write to you of heavenly

(o) Vid. Vossium in loc.

(q) As also the Bishop like Jesus Christ the Son of the Father Vossius in loc. vid. aliter Cotelerium.

(t) Habit of Body is great instruction.

(u) Power. Vid. Vossium & Usserium in loc.

(z) Vid. Annot. Vossii in loc.

things? but I fear lest I should harm you, who are yet but babes in Christ: (excuse me this care,) and lest perchance being not able to receive them, ye should be choaked with them. For even I myself, although I am in bonds, yet am not therefore able to understand heavenly things: as the places of the Angels, and the several companies of them, under their respective princes; things visible and invisible; but in these I am yet a learner; for many things are wanting to us, that we come not short of God.

6. I exhort you therefore, *or rather* not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, that ye use none but Christian nourishment; abstaining from pasture which is of another kind, I mean heresy. *For they that are heretics*,(c) confound together the doctrine of Jesus Christ, with *their own* poison; whilst they seem worthy of belief:(d) as men give a deadly potion mixed with sweet wine; which he who is ignorant of, does with the treacherous pleasure sweetly drink in his own death.

7. Wherefore guard yourselves against such persons. And that you will do if you are not puffed up; but continue inseparable from Jesus Christ *our* God, and from your Bishop, and from the commands of the Apostles.(e) He that is within the altar is pure; but he that is without, that is, that does any thing without the Bishop, and Presbyters, and Deacons, is not pure in his conscience.

8. Not that I know there is any thing of this nature among you; but I fore-arm you, as being greatly beloved by me, foreseeing the snares of the Devil. Wherefore putting on meekness, renew yourselves in faith, that is the flesh of the Lord; and in charity, that is the blood of Jesus Christ. Let no man

(c) Vid. de hoc loco conjecturas Vossii, Cotelerii, & Junii apud Usserium. Comp. Epist. interpol. in loc. Et Voss. Annot. in Epist. ad Phil. p. 281.

(d) Being believed for their dignity.

(e) Vid. Ussern obs. Marg. Comp. Coteler. ib.

have any grudge against his neighbour. Give no occasion to the Gentiles; lest by means of a few foolish men, the whole congregation of God be evil spoken of. For woe to that man through whose vanity my name is blasphemed by any.(*f*)

9. Stop your ears, therefore, as often as any one shall speak contrary to Jesus Christ; who was of the race of David, of the Virgin Mary. Who was truly born, and did eat and drink; was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate; was truly crucified and dead; both those in Heaven, and on earth, and under the earth being spectators of it. Who was also truly raised from the dead by his Father, after the same manner as he will also raise up us who believe in him, by Christ Jesus; without whom we have no true life.

10. But if as some who are atheists, that is to say infidels, pretend, that he only seemed to suffer: (they themselves only seeming to exist) why then am I bound? why do I desire to fight with beasts? therefore do I die in vain: therefore I will not speak falsely against the Lord

11. Flee therefore these evil sprouts which bring forth deadly fruit; of which if any one taste, he shall presently die. For these are not the plants of the Father; seeing if they were, they would appear to be the branches of the cross, and their fruit would be incorruptible: by which he invites you through his passion, who are members of him. For the head cannot be without its members, God having promised a union, that is himself.

12. I salute you from Smyrna, together with the Churches(*m*) of God that are present with me; who have refreshed me in all things, both in the flesh and in the spirit. My bonds, which I carry about me for the sake of Christ, (beseeching him that I may attain unto God) exhort you, that you continue in concord

(*f*) Through whom in vanity. Isaiah lii. 5.
(*m*) i. e. The delegates of the Churches.

among yourselves, and in prayer with one another. For it becomes every one of you, especially the Presbyters, to refresh the Bishop, to the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the Apostles. I beseech you that you hearken to me in love; that I may not by those things which I write, rise up in witness against you.(o) Pray also for me; who through the mercy of God stand in need of your prayers, that I may be worthy of the portion which I am about to obtain, that I be not found a reprobate.

13. The love of those who are at Smyrna and Ephesus salute you. Remember in your prayers the Church of Syria, from which I am not worthy to be called, being one of the least of it. Fare ye well in Jesus Christ; being subject to your Bishop as to the command of God; and so likewise to the Presbytery. Love every one his brother with an unfeigned heart. My soul be your expiation,(p) not only now, but when I shall have attained unto God: for I am yet under danger. But the Father is faithful in Jesus Christ, to fulfil both mine and your petition: in whom may ye be found unblameable.

TO THE TRALLIANS.

(o) Be a testimony among you, writing.
(p) Vid. Annot. Vossii & Coteler. in loc.

THE

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE

ROMANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus ;(a) to the Church which has obtained mercy from the majesty of the Most High Father, and his only begotten Son Jesus Christ ; beloved, and illuminated through the will of him who willeth all things which are according to the love of Jesus Christ our God,(c) which also presides in the place of the region of the Romans ;(d) and which I salute in the name of Jesus Christ, [is being] united both in flesh and spirit to all his commands (f) and filled with the grace of God ;(g) [all joy] in Jesus Christ our God (h)

1. FORASMUCH as I have at last obtained through my prayers to God,(k) to see your faces, which I much desired to do ;(m) being bound in Christ Jesus, I hope *ere long* to salute you, if it shall be the will of God to grant me to attain unto the end I *long for*. For the beginning is well disposed, if I shall but have grace, without hindrance, to receive what is appointed for me. But I fear your love, lest it do me

(a) Vid. Pearson. Vind. Ignat. par 2, ch. 16, p. 214

(c) God ; who also presides in the place of the region of the Romans, worthy of God ; most decent, most blessed, most praised, most worthy to obtain what it desires ; most pure, most charitable, called by the name of Christ and the Father. Gr.

(d) Type of the Chorus, i. e. The Church of the Romans. See Voss. Annot. in loc.

(f) The Son of the Father ; to those who are—Gr.

(g) Wholly filled Gr.

(h) [Being absolutely separated from any other colour ; much pure, or immaculate joy.]

(k) Vid Voss. Annot in loc.

(m) And have received even more than I asked, being bound.

an injury. For it is easy for you to do what you please; but it will be hard for me to attain unto God, if you spare me.

2. But I would not that ye should please men.(q) but God; whom also ye do please. For neither shall I ever hereafter have such an opportunity of going unto God; nor will you, if ye shall now be silent, ever be entitled to a better work. For if you shall be silent in my behalf, I shall be made *partaker* of God. But if you shall love my body, I shall have my course again to run. Wherefore ye cannot do me a greater kindness, than to suffer me to be sacrificed unto God, now that the altar is already prepared: that when ye shall be gathered together in love, ye may give thanks to the Father through Christ Jesus, that he has vouchsafed to bring a Bishop of Syria *unto you*, being(z) called from the east unto the west. For it is good *for me* to set from the world, unto God; that I may rise again unto him.

3. Ye have never envied any one; ye have taught others. I would therefore that ye *should now do those things yourselves*,(a) which in your instructions you have prescribed to *others* (b) Only pray for me, that God would give me both inward and outward strength, that I may not only say, but will; nor only called a Christian, but be found one. For if I shall be found a *Christian*, I may *then deservedly* be called *one*: and be *thought* faithful, when I shall no longer appear to the world. Nothing is good, that is seen.(c) For even our God, Jesus Christ, now that he is in the Father, does so much the more appear. A Christian is not a work of opinion;(d) but of greatness *of mind* [especially when he is hated by the world.](e)

(q) I will not please you as men. Gr.
(z) That a Bishop, of Syria should be found.
(a) That these things also should be firm.
(b) Commanded. Vid. Annot. Usserii in loc. N. 26, 27.
(c) Nothing that is seen is eternal: for the things, which are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal. Gr.
(d) Persuasion or silence. Gr.
(e) [Desunt. Gr.]

4. I write to the Churches, and signify to them all, that I am willing to die for God,(*f*) unless you hinder me. I beseech you that you shew not an unseasonable good will towards me. Suffer me to be food to the wild beasts by whom I shall attain unto God. For I am the wheat of God; and I shall be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ.(*i*) Rather encourage the beasts, that they may become my sepulchre; and may leave nothing of my body; that being dead, I may not be troublesome to any. Then shall I be truly the disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not see so much as my body. Pray therefore unto Christ for me, that by these instruments I may be made the sacrifice of God. I do not, as Peter and Paul, command you. They were Apostles, I a condemned man; they were free, but I am even to this day a servant: but if I shall suffer, I shall then become the freeman of Jesus Christ, and shall rise free. And now, being in bonds, I learn, not to desire any thing.(*n*)

5. From Syria even unto Rome, I fight with beasts both by sea and land; both night and day: being bound to ten leopards, that is to say, to such a band of soldiers; who though treated with all manner of kindness, are the worse for it. But I am the more instructed by their injuries; "yet am I therefore not justified," [1 Cor. iv. 4.] May I enjoy the wild beasts that are prepared for me; which also I wish may exercise all their fierceness upon me:(*o*) and whom for that end I will encourage,(*p*) that they may be sure to devour me, and not serve me as they have done some, whom out of fear they have not touched. But,

(*f*) Vid. Usser. Annot. n. 31.

(*i*) Vid. Lat. Vers. interpr. Et Annot. Usser. n. 33.

(*n*) Any world, or vain things. Gr.

(*o*) Vid. Voss. in loc. Usser. Annot. n. 43. May be ready for me Gr.

(*p*) Usser. Annot. n. 48.

and if they will not do it willingly, I will provoke them to it. Pardon me in this matter; I know what is profitable for me. Now I begin to be a disciple: [Luke xiv. 27] nor shall any thing move me, whether visible or invisible, that I may attain to Christ Jesus.(*q*) Let fire, and the cross; let the companies of wild beasts, let breakings of bones, and tearing of members; let the shattering in pieces of the whole body,(*t*) and all the wicked torments of the Devil come upon me (*u*) only let me enjoy Jesus Christ.

6. All the ends of the world, and the kingdoms of it, will profit me nothing: I would rather die for Jesus Christ, than rule to the utmost ends of the earth. Him I seek who died for us:(*a*) him I desire that rose again for us. This is the gain that is laid up for me.(*b*) Pardon me, my brethren, ye shall not hinder me from living: [nor seeing I desire to go to God,(*c*) may you separate me *from him*, for the sake of this world; nor seduce me by any of the desires of it.] Suffer me to enter(*e*) into pure light; where being come, I shall be indeed the servant of God.(*g*) Permit me to imitate the passion of my God. If any one has him within himself, let him consider what I desire; and let him have compassion on me, as knowing how I am streightened.(*h*)

7. The prince of this world would fain carry me away, and corrupt my resolution towards my God. Let none of you(*k*) therefore help him:(*l*) rather do ye join with me, that is, with God. Do not speak with Jesus Christ, and yet covet the world. Let not any envy dwell with you: no not though I myself

(*q*) Vid Coteler. in loc. Rom. viii. 38, 39.
(*t*) Vid. Usser. Annot. n. 56. (*u*) Ib. n. 57.
(*a*) For what is a man profitted if he shall gain the whole world and loose his own soul. Gr. add
(*b*) Usury. Gr. Vid Voss. correct p. 301
(*c*) Nor desire that I should die, who seek to go to God, rejoice not in the world. Gr.
(*e*) Take: lay hold on. (*g*) Vid. Annot. Voss. in loc.
(*h*) What things constrain me. (*k*) Who are present.
(*l*) Vid. Voss. Annot. in loc.

when I shall be come unto you, should exhort you to it, yet do not ye hearken to me; but rather believe what I now write to you. For though I am alive at the writing this, yet my desire is to die. My love is crucified; [and the fire that is within me(*m*) does not desire any water;(*n*) but being alive and springing within me,(*o*) says,] come to the Father. I take no pleasure in the food of corruption, nor in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ,(*p*) [of the seed of David;(*q*) and the drink that I long for] is his blood, which is incorruptible love.(*r*)

8. I have no desire to live any longer after the manner of men, neither shall I,(*s*) if you consent. Be ye therefore willing, that ye yourselves also may be pleasing to God. I exhort you in a few words;(*u*) *I pray you* believe me. Jesus Christ will shew you that I speak truly. My mouth is without deceit, and the Father hath truly spoken by it. Pray *therefore* for me, that I may accomplish *what I desire*. I have not written to you after the flesh, but according to the will of God. If I shall suffer, ye have loved me: but if I shall be rejected, ye have hated me.(*z*)

9. Remember in your prayers the Church of Syria, which now enjoys God for its shepherd instead of me: let Jesus Christ only oversee it,(*a*) and your charity. But I am *even* ashamed to be reckoned as one of them: for neither am I worthy, being the least among them, and as one born out of due season. But through mercy I have obtained to be somebody, if I shall get unto God, [1 Cor. xv. 8.] My spirit sa-

(*m*) And there is not any fire within me that loves matter, but living and speaking water saying within me. Gr.]

(*n*) Coteierius aliter explicat. Annot. in loc. Usser n. 79.

(*o*) Voss. in loc. Contra Coteler q. v.

(*p*) The heavenly bread which is. Gr.

(*q*) [The Son of God made in these last times of the seed of David and Abraham, and the drink of God that I long for. Gr.]

(*r*) Gr. adds, and perpetual life

(*s*) And that shall be. (*u*) Vid. Annot. Voss. in loc

(*z*) Viz. As unworthy to suffer. (*a*) Vid. Vet. Interpr. Lat.

lutes you; and the charity of the Churches that have received me in the name of Jesus Christ; not as a passenger: for even they that were not near to me in the way, have gone before me to the next city to meet me.

10. These things I write to you from Smyrna, by the most worthy of the Church of Ephesus. There is now with me, together with many others, Crocus most beloved of me. As for those which are come from Syria, and are gone before me to Rome,(*c*) to the glory of God, I suppose you are not ignorant of them. Ye shall therefore signify to them that I draw near, for they are all worthy both of God, and of you: whom it is fit that you refresh in all things. This have I written to you, the day before the ninth of the Calends of September.(*d*) Be strong unto the end, in the patience of Jesus Christ.(*e*)

TO THE ROMANS.

(*c*) Vid Vet. Interpr. Lat.
(*d*) That is the 23d of August. Gr. (*e*) *Amen.* Gr

THE

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE

PHILADELPHIANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which is at Philadelphia in Asia; which has obtained mercy, being fixed in the concord of God, and rejoicing evermore in the passion of our Lord, and being fulfilled in all mercy through his resurrection: which also I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ, which is our eternal and undefiled joy:(a) especially if they are at unity with the Bishop, and Presbyters who are with him, and the deacons appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ; whom he has settled according to his own will in all firmness by his Holy Spirit.

1. WHICH Bishop I know obtained that great ministry among you, not of himself, neither by men, nor out of vain glory, but by the love of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ: whose moderation I admire; who by his silence is able to do more, than others with all their vain talk. For he is fitted to the commands, as the harp to its strings. Wherefore my soul esteems his mind towards God most happy, knowing it to be fruitful in all virtue, and perfect; full of constancy; free from passion, and according to all the moderation of the living God.

2. Wherefore as becomes the children *both* of the light and of truth; flee divisions and false doctrines: but where your shepherd is, there do ye, as sheep, follow after. For there are many wolves who seem worthy of belief,(b) that with a false pleasure lead

(a) Vid. Vet. Interp. Lat.
(b) Vid. Voss. Annot. in loc.

captive those that run in the course of God: but in your concord, they shall find no place.

3. Abstain *therefore* from *those* evil herbs which Jesus Christ does not dress; because such are not the plantation of the Father. Not that I have found any division among you, but rather *all manner of* purity. For as many as are of God, and of Jesus Christ, are also with their Bishop. And as many as shall with repentance return into the unity of the Church, even these shall also be the servants of God, that they may live according to Jesus Christ. Be not deceived, brethren: if any one follows him that makes a schism in the Church, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God. If any one walks after any other opinion, he agrees not with the passion of Christ.

4. Wherefore let it be your endeavour to partake all of the same holy eucharist. For there is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ; and one cup, in the unity of his blood; one altar; as also there is one Bishop, together with his Presbytery, and the deacons my fellow servants: that so whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to the will of God.

5. My brethren, the love I have towards you makes me the more large; and having a great joy in you, I endeavour to secure you against danger: or rather not I, but Jesus Christ; in whom being bound I the more fear, as being yet only on the way to suffering.(*o*) But your prayer to God shall make me perfect, that I may attain to that portion, which by God's mercy is allotted to me: fleeing to the Gospel as to the flesh of Christ; and to the Apostles as to the Presbytery of the Church. Let us also love the prophets, for as much as they also have led us to the Gospel, and to the hope in Christ,(*q*) and to expect him. In whom also believing they were saved, in the unity of Jesus Christ; being holy men, worthy to be loved, and had in wonder; who have received testimony from Jesus

(*o*) Vid. Voss. in loc. *Imperfect.*
(*q*) Vid. Voss. in loc.

Christ, and are numbered in the Gospel of our common hope.

6. But if any one shall preach the Jewish law unto you, hearken not unto him: for it is better to receive the doctrine of Christ from one that has been circumcised, than Judaism from one that has not. But if either the one or other, do not speak concerning Christ Jesus; they seem to be but as monuments and sepulchres of the dead, upon which are written only the names of men. Flee therefore the wicked arts and snares of the prince of this world; lest at any time being oppressed by his cunning, ye grow cold in your charity. But come all together into the same place, with an undivided heart. And, I bless my God that I have a good conscience towards you, and that no one among you has whereof to boast either openly or privately, that I have been burthensome to him in much or little. And I wish to all amongst whom I have conversed, that it may not turn to a witness against them.

7. For although some would have deceived me according to the flesh; yet the Spirit, being from God, is not deceived: for it knows both whence it comes, and whither it goes, and reproves the secrets *of the heart*. I cried whilst I was among *you*; I spake with a loud voice; attend to the Bishop and to the Presbytery, and to the deacons. Now some supposed that I spake this as foreseeing the division that should come among you. But he is my witness for whose sake I am in bonds that I knew nothing from any man. But the Spirit spake, saying on this wise; do nothing without the Bishop: keep your bodies as the temples of God: love unity: flee divisions: be the followers of Christ, as he *was* of his Father.

8. I therefore did as became me, as a man composed to unity. For where there is division and wrath, God dwelleth not. But the Lord forgives all that repent, if they return to the unity of God, and to the council of the Bishop. For I trust in the grace of

Jesus Christ that he will free you from every bond. Nevertheless I exhort you that you do nothing out of strife, but according to the instruction of Christ. Because I have heard of some who say; unless I find *it written in* the originals,(z) I will not believe *it to be written in* the Gospel. And when I said, it is written, they answered what lay before them in their corrupted copies. But to me Jesus Christ is instead of all the uncorrupted monuments in the world: *together with* those undefiled monuments, his cross, and death, and resurrection, and the faith which is by him: by which I desire, through your prayers, to be justified.

9. The priests indeed are good; but much better is the High Priest to whom the holy of holies has been committed, and who alone has been entrusted with the secrets of God. He is the door of the Father; by which Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all prophets enter in; *as well* as the Apostles and the Church. And all these things *tend* to the unity *which is* of God. Howbeit the Gospel has somewhat in it far *above all other dispensations*; namely, the appearance of our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, his passion and resurrection. For the beloved prophets referred to him: but the Gospel is the perfection of incorruption. All *therefore* together are good, if ye believe with charity.

10. Now as concerning the Church of Antioch which is in Syria, seeing I am told that through your prayers, and the bowels which ye have towards it in Jesus Christ, it is in peace; it will become you, as the Church of God, to ordain some deacon to go to them thither as the ambassador of God; that he may rejoice with them when they meet together, and glorify God's name. Blessed be that man in Jesus Christ, who shall be found worthy of such a ministry; and ye yourselves also shall be glorified. Now if ye be willing, it is not impossible for you to do this

(z) Archives. Vid Voss. Annot. in loc.

for the sake of God; as also the other neighbouring Churches have sent them, some Bishops, some priests and deacons.

11. As concerning Philo, the deacon of Cilicia, a most worthy man,(c) he still ministers unto me in the word of God; together with Rheus of Agathopolis,(d) a singular good person, who has followed me even from Syria, not regarding his life: these also bear witness unto you. And I myself give thanks to God for you, that ye receive them as the Lord shall receive you. But for those that dishonoured them, may they be forgiven through the grace of Jesus Christ. The charity of the brethren that are at Troas salutes you: from whence also I now write by Burrhus, who was sent together with me by those of Ephesus and Smyrna, for respect sake. May our Lord Jesus Christ honour them; in whom they hope, both in flesh, and soul, and spirit; in faith, in love, in unity. Farewell in Christ Jesus our common hope.

(c) Vossius a martyr, or confessor. Vid. Annot. in loc.
(d) Vid. Vossius Annot. in Ep. ad Smyrn. p. 261.

THE

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE

SMYRNEANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus ; to the Church of God the Father, and of the beloved Jesus Christ ; which God hath mercifully blessed with every good gift,(*a*) being filled with faith and charity, so that it is wanting in no gift ; most worthy of God, and fruitful in saints ; the Church which is at Smyrna in Asia ; all joy, through his immaculate Spirit, and the word of God.

1. I GLORIFY God, even Jesus Christ, who has given you such wisdom. For I have observed that you are settled in an immoveable faith, as if you were nailed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit ; and are confirmed in love through the blood of Christ ; being fully persuaded of those things which relate unto our Lord : who truly was of the race of David according to the flesh, but the Son of God according to the will and power of God : truly born of the Virgin, and baptized of John, that so *all righteousness might be fulfilled by him*, [Mat. iii. 15.] He was also truly crucified by Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch, being nailed for us in the flesh ; by the fruits of which we are, even by his most blessed passion ; that he might set up a token for all ages through his resurrection,(*c*) to all his holy and faithful servants, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, in one body of his Church.

2. Now all these things he suffered for us, that we

(*a*) Comp. 1 Cor. vii. 25. (*c*) Vid. Voss. Annot. in loc.

might be saved. And he suffered truly, as he also truly raised up himself: and not, as some unbelievers say, that he only seemed to suffer, they themselves only seeming to be.(*d*) And as they believe so shall it happen unto them; when being divested of the body they shall become mere spirits.

3. But I know that even after his resurrection he was in the flesh; and I believe that he is still so. And when he came to those who were with Peter, he said, unto them, *take, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal dæmon.*(*f*) And straightway they felt him and believed; being convinced both by his flesh and spirit. For this cause they despised death, and were found to be above it. But after his resurrection he did eat and drink with them, as he was flesh; although as to his spirit he was united to the Father.

4. Now these things, beloved, I put you in mind of, not questioning but that you yourselves also believe that they are so. But I arm you before-hand against certain beasts in the shape of men; whom you must not only not receive, but if it be possible must not meet with. Only you must pray for them, that if it be the will of God they may repent; which yet will be very hard. But of this our Lord Jesus Christ has the power, who is our true life. For if all these things were done only in shew by our Lord, then do I also seem only to be bound: and why have I given up myself to death, to the fire, to the sword, to wild beasts? but now the nearer I am to the sword, the nearer am I to God: when I shall come among the wild beasts, I shall come to God. Only in the name of Jesus Christ, I undergo all, to suffer together with him; he who was made a perfect man strengthening me.

5. Whom some, not knowing, do deny; or rather have been denied by him, being the advocates of

(*d*) i. e. Christians.

(*f*) Ex Evang. Nazar. Hebr. See Dr. Grabe Spicileg. to. ... p. 2...

death, rather than of the truth. Whom neither the prophecies, nor the law of Moses have persuaded; nor the Gospel itself even to this day, nor the sufferings of every one of us. For they think also the same things of us. For what does a man profit me, if he shall praise me, and blaspheme my Lord; not confessing that he was truly made man? now he that doth not say this, does in effect deny him, and is in death. But for the names of such as do this, they being unbelievers, I thought it not fitting to write them unto you. Yea, God forbid that I should make any mention of them, until they shall repent to a true belief of Christ's passion, which is our resurrection.

6. Let no man deceive himself; both the things which are in Heaven, and the glorious Angels, and princes, whether visible or invisible, if they believe not in the blood of Christ, it shall be to them to condemnation. "He that is able to receive this, let him receive it," [Matt. xix. 12.] Let no man's place *or state in the world* puff him up:(*m*) that which is worth all is faith and charity, to which nothing is to be preferred. But consider those who are of a different opinion from us, as to what concerns the grace of Jesus Christ which is come unto us, how contrary they are to the design of God? they have no regard to charity; no care of the widow, the fatherless, and the oppressed; of the bound or free, of the hungry or thirsty.

7. They abstain from the eucharist, and from the public offices;(*n*) because they confess not the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ; which suffered for our sins, and which the Father of his goodness, raised again from the dead. And for this cause contradicting the gift of God, they die in their disputes: but much better would it be for them to re-

(*m*) Vid. Epist. Interpol.
(*n*) Vid. Annot. Coteler. in loc. Or, prayers

ceive it, that they might one day rise through it.(o) It will therefore become you to abstain from such persons; and not to speak with them neither in private, nor in public. But to hearken to the prophets, and especially to the Gospel, in which both Christ's passion is manifested unto us, and his resurrection perfectly declared. But flee all divisions, as the beginning of evils.

8. See that ye all follow your Bishop, as Jesus Christ, the Father: and the Presbytery, as the Apostles. And reverence the deacons, as the command of God. Let no man do any thing of what belongs to the Church separately from the Bishop. Let that eucharist be looked upon as well established, which is either offered by the Bishop, or by him to whom the Bishop has given his consent. Wheresoever the Bishop shall appear, there let the people also be: as where Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic Church. It is not lawful without the Bishop, neither to baptize, nor to celebrate the holy communion: but whatsoever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing unto God; that so whatever is done, may be sure and well done.

9. For what remains, it is very reasonable that we should repent, whilst there is yet time to return unto God. It is a good thing to have a due regard both to God and to the Bishop: he that honours the Bishop, shall be honoured of God. But he that does any thing without his knowledge, ministers unto the devil. Let all things therefore abound to you in charity; seeing ye are worthy. Ye have refreshed me in all things; so shall Jesus Christ you. Ye have loved me both when I was present with you, and now being absent, ye cease not to do so. May God be your reward, for whom whilst ye undergo all things, ye shall attain unto him.

10. Ye have done well in that ye have received Philo, and Rheus Agathopus,(u) who followed me

(o) Vid. Coteler. Annot.
(u) Vid. Voss. Annot. in loc.

for the word of God, as the deacons of Christ our God. Who also give thanks unto the Lord for you, forasmuch as ye have refreshed them in all things. Nor shall any thing that ye have done,(*y*) be lost to you. My soul be for yours, and my bonds which ye have not despised, nor been ashamed of. *Wherefore* neither shall Jesus Christ, *our* perfect faith, be ashamed of you.

11. Your prayer is come to the Church of Antioch which is in Syria. From whence being sent bound with chains becoming God, I salute the Churches; being not worthy to be called from thence, as being the least among them.(*b*) Nevertheless by the will of God I have been thought worthy of this honour; not for that I think I have deserved it, but by the grace of God: which I wish may be perfectly given unto me, that through your prayers I may attain unto God. And therefore that your work may be fully accomplished both upon earth and in Heaven; it will be fitting, and for the honour of God, that your Church appoint some worthy delegate(*c*) who being come as far as Syria, may rejoice together with them that they are in peace; and that they are again restored to their former state, and have again received their proper body. Wherefore I should think it a worthy action, to send some one from you with an Epistle, to congratulate with them their peace in God; and that through your prayers they have now gotten to their harbour. For inasmuch as ye are perfect yourselves, you ought to think those things that are perfect. For when you are desirous to do well, God is ready to enable you thereunto.

12. The love of the brethren that are at Troas salute you; from whence I write to you by Burrhus whom ye sent with me, together with the Ephesians your brethren; and who has in all things refreshed

(*y*) Vid. Epist. Interpol.
(*b*) i. e. The Bishop of that Church.
(*c*) Vid. Voss. Annot. in loc.

me. And I would to God that all would imitate him, as being a pattern of the ministry of God. May his grace fully reward him. I salute your very worthy Bishop, and your venerable presbytery; and your deacons, my fellow servants; and all of you in general, and every one in particular, in the name of Jesus Christ, and in his flesh and blood; in his passion and resurrection both fleshly and spiritually; and in the unity of God with you.(*f*) Grace be with you, and mercy, and peace, and patience for ever more.

13. I salute the families of my brethren, with their wives and children; and the virgins that are called widows.(*h*) Be strong in the power of the Holy Ghost. Philo, who is present with me, salutes you. I salute the house of Tavias, and pray that it may be strengthened in faith and charity, both of flesh and spirit. I salute Alce, my well beloved, together with the incomparable Daphnus, and Eutechnus, and all by name.(*i*) Farewell in the grace of God.

TO THE SMYRNEANS FROM TROAS.

(*f*) Vid. Voss. Annot. in loc.

(*h*) i. e. The Deaconesses. See for the reason of this name, Voss. Annot. in loc. Add. Coteler ib.

(*i*) See Voss. Annot. ex. Epist. interpol.

THE

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO

ST. POLYCARP.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to Polycarp, Bishop of the Church which is at Smyrna ;(a) their overseer, but rather himself overlooked by God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ ; all happiness.

1. HAVING known that thy mind towards God is fixed as it were upon an immoveable rock, I exceedingly give thanks, that I have been thought worthy to behold thy blessed face, in which may I always rejoice in God. Wherefore I beseech thee by the grace of God with which thou art clothed, to press forward in thy course, and to exhort all others that they may be saved. Maintain thy place with all care both of flesh and spirit ;(c) make it thy endeavour to preserve unity, than which nothing is better. Bear with all men, even as the Lord with thee. Support all in love, as also thou dost. (d)Pray without ceasing; ask more understanding than what thou already hast. Be watchful, having thy spirit always awake. Speak to every one according as God shall enable thee.(e) Bear the infirmities of all, as a perfect combatant: where the labour is great, the gain is the more.

2. If thou shalt love the good disciples, what thanks is it? but rather do thou subject to thee those that

(a) To the Smyrneans. (c) Vid. 1 Cor. vii. 34.
(d) Be at leisure to, &c.
(e) Vid. Voss. in loc. aliter Vet. Lat. Interpr.

are mischievous, in meekness. Every wound is not healed with the same plaister: if the accessions of the disease be vehement, mollify them with soft remedies: be in all things, *wise as a serpent, but harmless as a dove.* For this cause thou art composed of flesh and spirit; that thou mayest mollify those things that appear before thy face: and as for those that are not seen, pray to God that he would reveal them unto thee, that so thou mayest be wanting in nothing, but mayest abound in every gift. The times demand thee, as the pilots the winds; and he that is tossed in a tempest, the haven where he would be; that thou mayest attain unto God. Be sober, as the combatant of God: the crown proposed to thee is immortality,(*t*) and eternal life; concerning which thou art also fully persuaded. I will be thy surety in all things, and my bonds, which thou hast loved

3. Let not those that seem worthy of credit, but teach other doctrines, disturb thee. Stand firm and immoveable, as an anvil when it is beaten upon. It is the part of a brave combatant, to be wounded, and yet overcome But especially we ought to endure all things for God's sake, that he may bear with us. Be *every day* better than other: consider the times; and expect him who is above all time, eternal, invisible, though for our sakes made visible: impalpable, and impassible, yet for us subjected to sufferings; enduring all manner of ways for our salvation.

4. Let not the widows be neglected: be thou, after God, their guardian. Let nothing be done without thy knowledge and consent: neither do thou any thing but according to the will of God; as also thou dost with all constancy. Let your assemblies be more full: inquire into all by name. Overlook not the men and maid servants; neither let them be puffed up; but rather let them be the more subject to the glory

(*t*) Vid. Voss. Annot. in loc. Collat. cum Coteler. ib.

of God, that they may obtain from him a better liberty. Let them not desire to be set free at the public cost, that they be not slaves to their own lusts.(*o*)

5. Flee evil arts, or rather make not any mention of them. Say to my sisters, that they love the Lord; and be satisfied with their own husbands, both in the flesh and spirit. In like manner, exhort my brethren in the name of Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, *even* as the Lord the Church. If any man can remain in a virgin state, to the honour of the flesh of Christ let him remain without boasting:(*q*) but if he boast he is undone. And if he desire to be more taken notice of than the Bishop, he is corrupted. But it becomes all such as are married, whether men or women, to come together with the consent of the Bishop that so their marriage may be according to godliness and not in lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God.

6. * Hearken unto the Bishop, that God also may hearken unto you. My soul be security for them that submit to their Bishop, with their presbyters and deacons. And may my portion be together with theirs in God. Labour with one another, contend together, run together, suffer together sleep together, and rise together, as the stewards, and assessors, and ministers of God. Please him under whom ye war; and from whom ye receive your wages. Let none of you be found a deserter; but let your baptism remain as your arms, your faith as your helmet, your charity as your spear, your patience as your whole armour. Let your works be your charge, that so you may receive a suitable reward.(*r*) Be long-suffering therefore towards each other in meekness, as God is towards you. Let me have joy of you in all things.

7. Now forasmuch as the Church of Antioch in

(*o*) Vid. Annot. Coteler. in loc.

(*q*) Vid. Annot. Vossii & Coteler. in loc.

* Observe, from the foregoing section, that Ignatius here speaks not to Polycarp, but through him to the Church of Smyrna.

(*r*) That which is committed to your custody, to keep secure.

Syria is, as I am told, in peace through your prayers; I also have been the more comforted and without care in God; if so be that by suffering, I shall attain unto God; that through your prayers I may be found a disciple of Christ. It will be very fit, O most worthy Polycarp, to call a select council, and choose some one whom ye particularly love, and who is patient of labour, that he may be the messenger of God: and that going unto Syria, he may glorify your incessant love, to the praise of Christ. A Christian has not the power of himself; but must be always at leisure for God's service. Now this work is both God's and yours, when ye shall have perfected it. For I trust through the grace of God that ye are ready to every good work that is fitting for you in the Lord. Knowing therefore your earnest affection to the truth, I have exhorted you by these short letters.(*w*)

8. But forasmuch as I have not been able to write to all the Churches, because I must suddenly sail from Troas to Neapolis; (for so is the command of those to whose pleasure I am subject;) do you write to the Churches that are near you, as being instructed in the will of God, that they also may do in like manner. Let those that are able send messengers; and let the rest send *their* letters by those who shall be sent by you: that you may be glorified to all eternity, of which you are worthy.(*y*) I salute all by name; particularly the wife of Epitropus, with all her house, and children. I salute Attalus my well beloved. I salute him, who shall be thought worthy to be sent by you into Syria. Let grace be ever with him, and with Polycarp who sends him.(*z*) I wish you all happiness in our God, Jesus Christ; in whom continue in the unity, and protection of God. I salute Alce my well beloved. Farewell in the Lord.

TO POLYCARP.

(*w*) Viz. to the Smyrneans, and this to himself. See Pearson in loc

(*y*) Vid. Voss. in loc. in the eternal work

A RELATION

OF THE

MARTYRDOM OF ST. IGNATIUS.

Translated from the original Greek, and published by Dr. Grabe, in his Spicileg. Patrum, t. 2.

1. WHEN Trajan not long since came to the Roman empire, Ignatius, the disciple of St. John the Apostle [and Evangelist,] a man in all things like unto the Apostles, governed the Church of Antioch with all care. Who being scarcely able to escape the storms of the many persecutions before under Domitian, as a good governor, by the helm of prayer and fasting, by the constancy of his doctrine and spiritual labour, withstood the raging floods;(*c*) fearing lest they should sink those who either wanted courage, or were not well grounded in the faith.(*d*)

2. Wherefore the persecution being at present somewhat abated, he rejoiced greatly at the tranquillity of his Church: yet was troubled as to himself, that he had not attained to a true love of Christ, nor was come up to the pitch of a perfect disciple. For he thought that the confession which is made by martyrdom, would bring him to a yet more close and intimate union with the Lord. Wherefore continuing a few years longer with the Church, and after the man-

(*c*) Compare the Cotton MS.

(*d*) Magis Simplices. in MS. Cotton: infirmum. Gr. *akeraiotc·*

ner of a divine lamp, illuminating the hearts *of the faithful* by the exposition of holy Scriptures, he attained to what he had desired.

3. For Trajan, in the nineteenth year of his empire,(*i*) being lifted up with his victory over the Scythians and Dacians, and many other nations; and thinking that the religious company of Christians was yet wanting to his absolute and universal dominion; and thereupon threatening them that they should be persecuted, unless they would choose to worship the devil, with all other nations; fear obliged all such as lived religiously, either to sacrifice or to die. Wherefore our brave soldier of Christ, being in fear for the Church of Antioch, was voluntarily brought before Trajan; who was at that time there on his way to Armenia, and the Parthians, against whom he was hastening.

4. Being come into the presence of the emperor Trajan; the emperor asked him, saying: "what a wicked wretch(*l*) art thou, thus to endeavour to transgress our commands, and to persuade others also to do likewise to their destruction?"(*n*) Ignatius answered, "no one ought to call Theophorus after such a manner; forasmuch as all wicked spirits are departed far from the servants of God. But if because I am a trouble to those evil spirits, you call me wicked, with reference to them, I confess the charge: for having within me Christ the heavenly King, I dissolve all the snares of the devils."

5. Trajan replied; "and who is Theophorus?" Ignat. "he who has Christ in his breast." Trajan, "and do not we then seem to thee to have the Gods within us,(*r*) who fight for us against our enemies?" Ignat. "you err, in that you call the evil spirits of

(*i*) See Bp. Pearson's Dissert. of the year of St. Ignatius's martyrdom. pag. 61.

(*l*) Devil: Vid. Pears. Vind Ign. part. 2, cap. 12.

(*n*) That they may be miserably destroyed. Gr.

(*r*) In our mind. Gr. In our breast: so MS. Cotton. To have an understanding of the Gods; or, the Gods according to under-

the heathens, Gods. For there is but one God, who made Heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that are in them; and *one Jesus Christ* his only begotten son; whose kingdom may I enjoy."

6. Trajan, 'his kingdom you say who was crucified under Pontius Pilate." Ignat. "his who crucified my sin, with the inventor of it; and has put all the deceit and malice of the devil under the feet of those who carry him in their heart." Trajan, "dost thou then carry him who was crucified within thee?" Ignat. "I do; for it is written, I will dwell in them and walk in them," [2 Cor. vi. 16.] Then Trajan pronounced this sentence against him; for as much as Ignatius has confessed that he carries about within himself him that was crucified, we command that he be carried bound by soldiers to the great Rome, there to be thrown to the beasts, for the entertainment of the people.

7. When the holy martyr heard this sentence he cried out with joy, "I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast vouchsafed to honour me with a perfect love towards thee; and hast made me to be put into iron bonds with thy Apostle Paul." Having said this he with joy put his bonds about him; and having first prayed for the Church, and commended it with tears unto the Lord, he was hurried away, like a choice ram, the leader of a good flock, by the brutish soldiers, in order to his being carried to Rome, there to be devoured by the blood-thirsty beasts.

8. Wherefore with much readiness and joy, out of his desire to suffer, he left Antioch, and came to Seleucia; from whence he was to sail. And after a great deal of toil, being come to Smyrna, he left the ship with great gladness, and hastened to see the holy Polycarp his fellow scholar, who was Bishop there; for they had both of them been formerly the disciples of St. John.

- standing. -So the other of A. B. Usher. Metaphrastes joins both together. Vid. Annot. Usser. N. 5.

9. Being brought to him, and communicating to him some spiritual gifts, and glorying in his bonds; he entreated first of all the whole Church (for the Churches and cities of Asia attended this holy man by their Bishops and priests and deacons, all hastening to him, if by any means they might receive(c) some part of his spiritual gift) but more particularly Polycarp, to contend with God in his behalf; that being suddenly taken by the beasts from the world, he might appear before the face of Christ. And this he thus spake and testified, extending so much his love for Christ, as one who was about to receive Heaven through his own good confession, and the earnest contention of those who prayed together with him: and to return a recompence to the Churches, who came to meet him by their governors, he sent letters of thanks to them, which distilled spiritual grace, with prayer and exhortation. Seeing therefore all men so kindly affected towards him; and fearing lest the love of the brotherhood should prevent his hastening to the Lord, now that a fair door of suffering was opened to him; he wrote the Epistle we here subjoin, to the Romans. *See the Epistle before.*

10. And having thus strengthened such of the brethren at Rome as were against his martyrdom, by this Epistle, as he desired; setting sail from Smyrna, (for he was pressed by the soldiers to hasten to the public spectacles at great Rome, that being delivered to the wild beasts in sight of the people of the Romans, he might receive the crown for which he strove,) he came to Troas: from whence going on, being brought to Neopolis, he passed by Phillippi through Macedonia, and that part of Epirus which is next to Epidamnus: having found a ship in one of the sea-ports, he sailed over the Adriatic Sea; [and from thence entering into the Tyrrhene,] and passing by several islands and cities, at length he saw Puteoli. Which being

(c) Partake of his spiritual blessing, MS. Cotton. Hear his discourses; Metaphrastes.

shewed to the holy man, he hastened to go forth, being desirous to walk from thence, in the way that Paul the Apostle had gone, [Acts xxviii. 13, 14.] But a violent wind arising, and driving on the ship,(*h*) would not suffer him so to do: wherefore commending the love of the brethren in that place he sailed forward.

11. And the wind continuing favourable to us, in one day and a night, we indeed were unwillingly hurried on, as sorrowing to think of being separated from this holy martyr: but to him it happened justly, according to his wish, that he might go the sooner out of the world, and attain unto the Lord whom he loved. Wherefore sailing into the Roman port, and those impure sports being almost at an end, the soldiers began to be offended at our slowness; but the Bishop with great joy complied with their hastiness.

12. Being therefore soon forced away from the port so called, we forthwith met the brethren; (for the report of what concerned the holy martyr was spread abroad) who were full of fear and joy: for they rejoiced in that God had vouchsafed them the company of Theophorus; but were afraid, when they considered, that such a one was brought thither to die. Now some of these he commanded to hold their peace, who were the most zealous for his safety, and said, that *they would appease the people, that they should not desire the destruction of the just* (*m*) Who presently knowing this by the spirit, and saluting all of them, he desired them that they would shew a true love to him; disputing yet more with them than he had done in his Epistle, and persuaded them not to envy him who was hastening unto the Lord. And so, all the brethren kneeling down, he prayed to the son of God in behalf of the Churches, that he would put a stop to the persecution, and *continue* the love of the brethren towards each other: which being done, he was

(*h*) The ship being repelled from the foreepart, would not permit.
(*m*) Quietare Plebem and non expetere perdere justum.

with all haste led into the amphitheatre, and speedily, according to the command of Cæsar before given, thrown in, the end of the spectacles being at hand. For it was then a very solemn day, called in the Roman tongue the 13th of the Calends of January, upon which the people were ordinarily wont to be gathered together. Thus was he delivered to the cruel beasts, near the temple by wicked men: that so the desire of the holy martyr Ignatius might be accomplished; as it is written, "the desire of the righteous is acceptable;" [Prov. x. 24.] namely, that he might not be burthensome to any of the brethren, by the gathering of his relics, but might be wholly devoured by them; according as in his Epistle he had before wished, that so his end might be. For only the greater and harder of his holy bones remained; which were carried to Antioch, and there put up in a napkin, as an inestimable treasure left to the Church by the grace which was in the martyr.

13. Now these things were done the 13th of the Calends of January, that is the 20th day of December; Sura and Synecius being the second time Consuls of the Romans; of which we ourselves were eye witnesses: and being the night following watching with tears in the house, praying to God with our bended knees, that he would give us weak men some assurance of what had been before done; it happened, that falling into a slumber, some of us on the sudden saw the blessed Ignatius standing by us and embracing us: others beheld the blessed martyr praying for us: others as it were dropping with sweat, as if he were just come from his great labour, and standing by the Lord.

14. Which when we saw, being filled with joy; and comparing the visions of our dreams with one another, we glorified God, the giver of all good things, and being assured of the blessedness of the saint (o)

(o) Beatificantes sanctum. *Pronouncing him blessed.*

we have made known unto you both the day and time: that being assembled together according to the time of his martyrdom, we may communicate with the combatant, and most valiant martyr of Christ; who trod under foot the devil, and perfected the course he had piously desired, in Christ Jesus our Lord; by whom, and with whom, all glory and power be to the Father, with the blessed Spirit, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

THE

CIRCULAR EPISTLE

OF THE

CHURCH OF SMYRNA,

CONCERNING THE

MARTYRDOM OF ST. POLYCARP.

The Church of God which is at Smyrna, to the Church of God which is at Philadelphia ;(*a*) and to all the other assemblies of the holy catholic Church, in every place ; mercy, peace, and love from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.

1. WE have written to you, brethren, both of what concerns the other martyrs, but especially the blessed Polycarp, who by his sufferings put an end to the persecution ; setting as it were, his seal to it. For almost all things that went before, were done, that the Lord might shew us from above, a martyrdom truly such as became the Gospel. For he expected to be delivered up ; even as the Lord also did, that we should become the followers of his example, considering not only what is profitable for ourselves, but also for our neighbours' advantage. For it is the part of a true and perfect charity, to desire, not only that a man's self should be saved, but also all the brethren.

(*a*) Philomelia Vid. Annot. Uss. n. 1. Comp. Vet. Le. interpr. e Euseb. hist. Eccles. Lib. c. 15.

2. The sufferings then of all the other martyrs, were blessed and generous; which they underwent according to the will of God. For so it becomes us, who are more religious than others, to ascribe the power and ordering of all things unto him.(*g*) And indeed who can choose but admire the greatness of their mind, and that admirable patience and love of their master, which then appeared in them? Who when they were so flayed with whipping, that the frame and structure of their bodies were laid open to their very inward veins and arteries, nevertheless endured it. And when all that beheld them, pitied and lamented them; yet they shewed so great a generosity of mind, that not one of them let so much as a sigh or a groan escape them; plainly shewing, that those holy martyrs of Christ, at the very same time that they were thus tormented, were absent from the body; or rather, that the Lord stood by them, and conversed with them. Wherefore being supported by the grace of Christ, they despised all the torments of the world; by the sufferings of an hour, redeeming themselves from everlasting punishment. *For this cause*, even the fire of their cruel and barbarous executioners seemed cold to them; whilst they hoped thereby to escape that fire which is eternal, and shall never be extinguished: and beheld with the eyes of faith, those good things which are reserved for them that endure *to the end*; *which neither ear has heard, nor eye seen, nor have they entered into the heart of man*, [1 Cor. ii. 9.] But to them they were now revealed by the Lord; as being no longer men, but already become angels. In like manner, those who were condemned to the beasts, and kept a long time in prison, underwent many cruel torments; being forced to lie upon sharp spikes laid under their bodies,(*n*) and tormented with divers other sorts of pun-

(*g*) Vid. Correct. Coteler. & Vales. in Annot. ad Euseb. l. iv. c. 15, p. 61

(*n*) See Bishop Usher's Annot. n. 7. Euseb. l. iv. c. 15, & in cum. Annot. Valesii p. 62. d

ishments ; that so if it were possible, the tyrant, by the length of their sufferings, might have brought them to deny Christ.

3. For *indeed*, the devil did invent many things against them : but thanks be to God, he was not able to prevail over all. For the brave Germanicus strengthened those that feared, by his patience ; and fought gloriously with the beasts. For when the proconsul would have persuaded him, telling him that he should consider his age and spare himself ; he pulled the wild beast to him, and provoked him, being desirous the more quickly to be delivered from a wicked and unjust world. Upon this, the whole multitude wondering at the courage of the holy and pious race of Christians, cried out, "take away those wicked wretches ; let Polycarp be looked out."

4. Then one named Quintus, a Phrygian, being newly come from thence, seeing the beasts, was afraid. This was he who forced himself and some others, to present themselves of their own accord, to the trial. Him therefore the pro-consul persuaded with many promises, to swear and sacrifice. For which cause, brethren, we do not commend those who offer themselves *to persecution* ; seeing the Gospel teaches no such thing.

5. But the most admirable Polycarp, when he first heard that *he was called for*, was not at all concerned at it ; but resolved to tarry in the city. Nevertheless, he was at the last persuaded, at the desire of many, to go out of it. He departed therefore into a little village, not far distant from the city, and there tarried with a few about him, doing nothing night nor day, but praying for all men, and for the Churches which were in all the world, according to his usual custom. And as he was praying, he saw a vision three days before he was taken ; and behold, the pillow under his head seemed to him on fire. Whereupon, turning to those that were with him, he said prophetically, "*that he should be burnt alive.*"

6. Now when those who were to take him drew near, he departed into another village; and immediately they who sought him, came thither. And when they found him not, they seized upon two young men *that were there*; one of which, being tormented, confessed. For it was impossible he should be concealed, forasmuch as they who betrayed him were his own domestics. So the officer, who is also called Cleronomus,(*s*) Herod by name; hastened to bring him into the lists: that so Polycarp might receive his proper portion, being made partaker of Christ; and they that betrayed him, undergo the punishment of Judas.

7. The sergeants therefore and horsemen taking the young lad along with them, departed about supper time, being Friday, with their usual arms, as it were against a thief or a robber. And being come to the place where he was, about the close of the evening, they found him lying down in a little upper room, from whence he could easily have escaped into another place, but he would not; saying, *the will of the Lord be done.* Wherefore when he heard that they were come to the house, he went down and spake to them. And as they that were present wondered at his age and constancy, some of them began to say, "was there need of all this care to take such an old man?"(*t*) Then presently he ordered, that the same hour there should be somewhat got ready for them, that they might eat and drink their fill; desiring them withal, that they would give him one hour's liberty *the while*, to pray without disturbance. And when they had permitted him, he stood praying, being full of the grace of God; so that he ceased not for two whole hours, to the admiration of all that heard him: insomuch, that many of the soldiers began to repent, that they were come out against so godly an old man.

(*s*) Justice of the peace. Vid. Usser in loc. num. 14, 15. Vales. in Euseb. p. 63. d.

(*t*) Why was all this diligence. Vid. Annot. 29. Usser in loc.

8. As soon as he had done his prayer, in which he remembered all men, whether little or great, honourable or obscure, that had at any time been acquainted with him ;(w) and with them the whole catholic Church, over all the world ; the time being come that he was to depart, the guards set him upon an ass, and so brought him into the city, being the day of the great sabbath. And Herod the chief officer, with his father Nicetes, met him in a chariot. And having taken him up to them, and set him in the chariot, they began to persuade him, saying, *what harm is there in it, to say, Lord Cæsar, and sacrifice* (with the rest that is usual on such occasions) *and so be safe ?* But Polycarp, at first, answered them not : whereupon they continuing to urge him, he said, "I shall not do what you would persuade me to." So being out of all hope of prevailing with him ; they began first to rail at him, and then with violence threw him out of the chariot ; insomuch that he hurt his thigh with the fall. But he not turning back, went on readily with all diligence, as if he had received no harm at all ; and so was brought to the lists, where there was so great a tumult, that nobody could be heard.

9. As he was going into the lists, there came a voice from Heaven to him ; "be strong Polycarp, and quit thyself like a man." Now no one saw who it was that spake to him ; but for the voice, many of our brethren who were present, heard it. And as he was brought in, there was a great disturbance when they heard how that Polycarp was taken. And when he came near, the pro-consul asked him whether he was Polycarp ? who confessing that he was ; he persuaded him to deny the faith, saying, *reverence thy old age*, with many other things of the like nature, as their custom is ; concluding thus, *swear by Cæsar's fortune. Repent and say, take away the wicked.*

(w) Comp. Euseb. l. iv. c. 15, p. 10. B. Edit. Vales. & Annot Vales. p. 62. c.

Then Polycarp, looking with a stern countenance upon the whole multitude of wicked Gentiles that was gathered together in the lists, and shaking his hand at them, looked up to heaven, and groaning, said, *take away the wicked*. But the pro consul, insisting and saying, "swear, and I will set thee at liberty; reproach Christ." Polycarp replied, "eighty and six years have I now served Christ, and he has never done me the least wrong: how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?"

10. And when the pro-consul nevertheless still insisted, saying, "swear by the genius of Cæsar." He answered, "seeing thou art so vainly urgent with me that I should swear, as thou callest it, by the genius of Cæsar, seeming as if thou didst not know what I am; hear me freely professing it to thee, that I am a Christian But if thou farther desirest an account what Christianity is, appoint a day and thou shalt hear it." The pro-consul replied, "persuade the people." Polycarp answered, "to thee have I offered to give a reason of my faith: for so are we taught to pay all due honour, (such only excepted as would be hurtful to ourselves,) to the powers and authorities which are ordained of God. But for the people, I esteem them not worthy that I should give any account of my faith to them."

11. The pro-consul continued, and said unto him, "I have wild beasts ready, to those I will cast thee except thou repent." He answered, "call for them then; for we Christians are fixed in our minds not to change from good to evil: but for me it will be good to be changed from evil to good"(*b*) The pro-consul added; "seeing thou despisest the wild beasts, I will cause thee to be devoured by fire, unless thou shalt repent." Polycarp answered, "thou threatenest me with fire which burns for an hour, and so is extin-

(*b*) The meaning is, to be translated from what is grievous, and hard to suffer here, to the just reward of my sufferings in the other world.

guished; but knowest not the fire of the future judgment, and of that eternal punishment, which is reserved for the ungodly. But why tarriest thou? bring forth what thou wilt.

12. Having said this, and many other things of the like nature, he was filled with confidence and joy, insomuch that his very countenance was full of grace: so that he did not only not let it fall with any confusion at what was spoken to him; but on the contrary, the pro-consul was struck with astonishment; and sent his crier into the middle of the lists, to proclaim three several times; Polycarp *confessed himself to be a* Christian. Which being done by the crier, the whole multitude both of the Gentiles and of the Jews which dwelt at Smyrna, being full of fury, cried out with a loud voice; "this is the doctor of Asia;(*d*) the father of the Christians, and the overthrower of our Gods. He that has taught so many not to sacrifice, nor pay any worship to the Gods." And saying this, they cried out, and desired Philip the Asiarch,(*e*) that he would let loose a lion against Polycarp. But Philip replied, that it was not lawful for him to do so, because that kind of spectacles was already over.(*f*) Then it pleased them to cry out with one consent, that Polycarp should be burnt alive. For so it was necessary that the vision should be fulfilled which was made manifest unto him by his pillow, when seeing it on fire as he was praying, he turned about and said prophetically to the faithful that were with him; *I must be burnt alive.*

12. This therefore was done with greater speed than it was spoke; the whole multitude instantly gathering together wood and faggots, out of the shops and baths; the jews especially, according to their custom, with all readiness assisting them in it. When

(*d*) So Eusebius Ruffin. et. Interpr. Lat. &c. Vid Usser. not. 44.

(*e*) Who was president of the spectacles; the chief priest for that year. See Usser Annot. numb. 46. Vales. in Euseb. p. 63, 64.

(*f*) He had already fulfilled, or finished, the baiting of dogs.

the fuel was ready, Polycarp laying aside all his upper garments, and undoing his girdle, tried also to pull off his clothes underneath, which aforetime he was not wont to do; forasmuch as always every one of the Christians that was about him contended who should soonest touch his flesh For he was truly adorned by his good conversation with all kind of piety,(*g*) even before his martyrdom. *This being done*, they presently put about him such things as were necessary to prepare the fire.(*k*) But when they would have also nailed him to the stake, he said, "let me alone as I am: for he who has given me strength to endure the fire, will also enable me, without your securing me by nails, to stand without moving in the pile."

14. Wherefore they did not nail him, but only tied him to it. But he having put his hands behind him, and being bound as a ram chosen out of a great flock, for an offering, and prepared to be burnt a sacrifice, acceptable unto God, looked up to Heaven and said; "O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well beloved and blessed Son, Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee, the God of Angels and powers, and of every creature, and *especially* of the whole race of just men who live in thy presence! I give thee hearty thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to bring me to this day, and to this hour; that I should have a part in the number of thy martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, in the incorruption of the Holy Ghost. Among which may I be accepted this day before thee, as a fat and acceptable sacrifice; as thou the true God, with whom is no falsehood, hast both before ordained, and manifested unto me, and also hast now fulfilled it. For this, and for all things else I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee by the eternal,(*l*) and heavenly high priest, Jesus Christ thy

(*g*) Vid. aliter apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 15. Et in eum Vales. Annot. p. 64.

(*k*) The pile that was to burn him. See Vales. in Euseb. p. 64. b.

(*l*) Euseb. & Vet. Lat. Interp.

beloved Son; with whom to thee(*m*) and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now, and to all succeeding ages. *Amen.*"

15. He had no sooner pronounced aloud, *Amen*, and finished his prayer, but they who were appointed to be his executioners, lighted the fire. And when the flame began to blaze to a very great height; behold a wonderful miracle appeared, to us who had the happiness to see it, and who were reserved by Heaven to report to others what had happened. For the flame making a kind of arch, like the sail of a ship filled with the wind, encompassed, as in a circle, the body of the holy martyr. Who stood in the midst of it, not as if his flesh were burnt, but as bread that is baked, or as gold or silver glowing in the furnace. Moreover, so sweet a smell came from it, as if frankinscense, or some rich spices had been smoking there.

16. At length when those wicked men saw that his body could not be consumed by the fire, they commanded the executioner to go near to him and stick his dagger in him;(*n*) which being accordingly done, there came forth so great a quantity of blood(*o*) as even extinguished the fire, and raised an admiration in all the people, to consider what a difference there was between the infidels and the elect. One of which this great martyr, Polycarp, most certainly was; being in our times a truly Apostolical and prophetical teacher; and Bishop of the catholic Church which is at Smyrna. For every word that went out of his mouth either has been already fulfilled, or in its due time will be accomplished.

17. But when the emulous, and envious, and wicked adversary of the race of the just, saw the great-

(*m*) In the H. G. Euseb.

(*n*) Κομφέκτορα Vid. Annot. Usser. num. 75. Vales. understands by it one of the Launce men that were set to kill the beasts, if they grew unruly, at these kind of spectacles. Vid. in. Euseb. p. 64. c.

(*o*) So Eusebius.

ness of his martyrdom; and considered how irreprehensible his conversation had been from the beginning; and how he was now crowned with the crown of immortality, having without all controversy received his reward; he took all possible care that not the least remainder of his body should be taken away by us, although many desired to do it, and to be made partakers of his holy flesh. And to that end he suggested it to Nicetes, the father of Herod and brother of Alce, to go to the governor, and hinder him from giving us his body to be buried. Lest, says he, "forsaking him that was crucified, they should begin to worship this Polycarp." And this he said at the suggestion and instance of the Jews; who also watched us, that we should not take him out of the fire: not considering, that neither is it possible for us ever to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all such as shall be saved throughout the whole world, *the righteous for the ungodly*; [1 Pet. iii. 18.] nor worship any other besides him. For him indeed, as being the Son of God, we do adore: but for the martyrs, we worthily love them, as the disciples and followers of our Lord; and upon the account of their exceeding great affection towards their master and their king. Of whom may we also be made companions, and fellow disciples.

18. The Centurion therefore seeing the contention of the Jews, put his body into the midst of the fire, and so consumed it. After which we taking up his bones, more precious than the richest jewels, and tried above gold, deposited them where it was fitting. Where being gathered together as we have opportunity, with joy and gladness, the Lord shall grant unto us to celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have suffered, and for the exercise and preparation of those who may hereafter suffer.

19. Such was the passion of the blessed Polycarp, who though he was the twelfth of those who, togeth-

er with those of Philadelphia, suffered martyrdom is yet alone chiefly had in memory of all men: insomuch that he is spoken of by the very Gentiles themselves in every place, as having been not only an eminent teacher, but also a glorious martyr. Whose death all desire to imitate, as having been every way conformable to the Gospel of Christ. For having by patience overcome the unjust governor, and so received the crown of immortality; he now, together with the Apostles, and all other righteous men, who have gone before, with great triumph, glorifies God even the Father, and blesses our Lord the governor both of our souls and bodies;(*t*) and shepherd of the catholic Church which is over all the earth.

20. Whereas therefore ye desired that we would at large declare to you what was done; we have for the present given you a summary account of it by our brother Marcus: having therefore yourselves read this epistle, you may do well to send it forward to the brethren that are farther off; that they may also glorify God who makes such choice of his own servants, and is able to bring all of us by his grace and help to his eternal kingdom, through his only begotten Son Jesus Christ; to whom be glory, and honour, and power, and majesty, for ever and ever—*Amen.* Salute all the saints; they that are with us salute you; and Evarestus, who wrote this epistle, with his whole house.

21. Now the suffering of the blessed Polycarp was the second day of the present month *Xanthicus*, viz. the seventh of the Calends of May;(*u*) being the great Sabbath about the 8th hour. He was taken by Herod, Philip the Trallian being high priest; Statius Quadratus proconsul; but our Saviour Christ reigning for evermore: to him be honour, glory, majesty, and

(*t*) Vid. Coteler. in marg. & Vet. Lat. Interpr.

(*u*) Rather of April: See Annot. Usser. n. 105. & Pearson Chr. Diss. [illegible]

an eternal throne, from generation to generation. *Amen.*

22. We wish you, brethren, all happiness; by living according to the rule of the Gospel of Jesus Christ: with whom, glory be to God the Father, and the Holy Spirit, for the salvation of his chosen saints. After whose example the blessed Polycarp suffered; at whose feet may we be found in the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

AN ADVERTISEMENT RELATING TO THE FOREGOING EPISTLE.

THIS epistle was transcribed by Caius out of the copy of Ireneus, the disciple of Polycarp; who also lived and conversed with Ireneus. And I Socrates transcribed it at Corinth, out of the copy of the said Caius. Grace be with all.*

After which I Pionius again wrote it from the copy before mentioned; having searched it out by the revelation of Polycarp, who directed me to it; as also I shall declare in what follows: having gathered these things together, now almost corrupted through process of time; that Jesus Christ our Lord may also gather me together with his elect: to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

* Ad finem Exempl. Usser. p. 39

THE

CATHOLIC EPISTLE

OF

ST. BARNABAS.

ALL HAPPINESS TO YOU MY SONS AND DAUGHTERS, IN THE NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WHO LOVED US, IN PEACE.

HAVING perceived abundance of knowledge of the great and excellent laws of God to be in you, I exceedingly rejoice in your blessed and admirable souls, because ye have so worthily received the grace which was grafted in you.(*d*) For which cause I am full of joy, hoping the rather to be saved; inasmuch as I truly see a spirit infused into you, from the pure fountain of God: having this persuasion, and being fully convinced thereof, because that since I have begun to speak unto you, I have had a more than ordinary good success in the way of the law of the Lord, which is in Christ.(*g*) For which cause brethren,(*h*) I also think verily that I love you above my own soul: because that therein dwelleth the greatness of faith and charity, as also the hope of that life which is to come. Wherefore considering this, that if I shall

(*d*) Natural: Gr. ἐμφυῆ. See Chap. xix. ἐμφυῆ δοτεὰν διδαχῆς: which the Lat. Int. renders naturale donum doctrinæ. Conf. Jam. i. 21.

(*g*) Comp. Psal. 119. 33. viz. either by preaching, or fulfilling the same.

(*h*) Vid. Annot. Vos. in loc.

take care to communicate to you a part of what I have received, it shall turn to my reward, that I have served such good souls;(i) I gave diligence to write in a few words unto you; that together with your faith, your knowledge also may be perfect. There are therefore three things ordained by the Lord; the hope of life; the beginning and the completion of it. For the Lord hath both declared unto us, by the prophets, those things that are past; and opened to us the beginning of those that are to come. Wherefore, it will behove us, as he has spoken, to come more holily, and nearer to his altar. I therefore, not as a teacher, but as one of you, will endeavour to lay before you, a few things by which you may on many accounts become the more joyful.

2. Seeing then the days are exceeding evil, and the adversary has got the power of this present world; we ought to give the more diligence to inquire into the righteous judgments of the Lord. Now the assistants of our faith are fear and patience: our fellow combatants, long suffering and continence. Whilst these remain pure in what relates unto the Lord, wisdom, and understanding, and science, and knowledge rejoice together with them. For God has manifested to us by all the prophets, that he has no occasion for our sacrifices, or burnt offerings, or oblations; saying thus, "to what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me saith the Lord. I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of he goats. When ye come to appear before me; who hath required this at your hands? ye shall no more tread my courts. Bring no more vain oblations, incense is an abomination unto me: your new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies I cannot away with, it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting: your new moons and your appointed feasts, my soul hateth," [Isaiah i. 11—14.] These things therefore hath God abol-

(i) Talibus Spiritibus servienti. Usser.

ished, that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of any such necessity, might have the spiritual offering of men themselves. For so the Lord saith again to those heretofore; "did I at all command your fathers when they came out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: but this I commanded them," saying, "let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour, and love no false oath," [Jer. vii. 22, 23.—Zach viii. 17.] Forasmuch then as we are not without understanding, we ought to apprehend the design of our merciful Father. For he speaks to us, being willing that we who have been in the same error about the sacrifices, should seek and find, how to approach unto him. And therefore he thus bespeaks us, "the sacrifice of God is a broken spirit, a broken and contrite heart God will not dispise," [Psal. l. 19.] Wherefore, brethren, we ought the more diligently to inquire after *those things that belong to* our salvation, that *the adversary* may not have an entrance into us, and deprive us of our *spiritual* life.

3. Wherefore he again speaketh to them, concerning the things: "ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head like a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?" But to us he saith on this wise. "Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burthens, and to let the oppressed go free; and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out, to thy house? when thou seest the naked that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee, the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward.

Then shalt thou call and the Lord shall answer: thou shalt cry and he shall say, here I am. If thou put away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity: and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry; and satisfy the afflicted soul," [Isaiah lviii. 4—10.] In this therefore, brethren, God has manifested his fore-knowledge and mercy to us; because the people which he has purchased to his beloved Son were to believe in sincerity; and therefore he has shewn these things to all of us, that we should not run as proselytes to the Jewish law.

4. Wherefore it is necessary that searching diligently into those things which are near to come to pass, we should write to you what may serve to keep you whole. To which end let us flee from every evil work, and hate the errors of the present time, that we may be happy in that which is to come: let us not give ourselves the liberty of disputing with the wicked and sinners, least we should chance in time to become like unto them. For the consummation of sin is come, as it is written, as the prophet Daniel says, [Dan. ix.] And for this end the Lord hath shortened the times and the days, that his beloved might hasten his coming to his inheritance. For so the prophet speaks; "there shall ten kings reign in the earth, and there shall rise last of all another little one and he shall humble three kings," [Dan vii.] And again Daniel speaks in like manner concerning the kingdoms; "and I saw the fourth beast dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and behold there came up among them another little horn, before which were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots," [Dan. vii. 7, 8.] We ought therefore to understand this also: and I beseech you, as one of your own brethren, loving you all beyond my own life, that you look well to yourselves, and be not like to those who add sin to sin, and say, *that their covenant is ours also.*

Nay, but it is ours only; for they have for ever lost that which Moses received. For thus saith the Scripture; "and Moses continued fasting forty days and forty nights in the mount; and he received the covenant from the Lord, even two tables of stone written by the hand of God," [Exod. xxxi. 34.] But having turned themselves to idols they lost it; [Exod. xxxii. 7.] as the Lord also said to Moses; "Moses, go down quickly, for thy people which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt, have corrupted themselves, and turned aside from the way which I commanded them," [Deut. ix. 12, 19.] And Moses cast the two tables out of his hands and their covenant was broken, that the love of Jesus might be sealed in your hearts, unto the hope of his faith. Wherefore let us give heed unto the last times. For all the time past of our life, and our faith will profit us nothing, unless we continue to hate what is evil, and to withstand the future temptations. So the Son of God tells us; *let us resist all iniquity, and hate it.* Wherefore consider the works of the evil way. Do not withdraw yourselves from others, as if you were already justified, [Hebr. x. 15.] but coming all together into one place, inquire what is agreeable to, and profitable for the beloved of God. For the scripture saith; "wo unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight."* Let us become spiritual, a perfect temple to God. As much as in us lies let us meditate upon the fear of God; and strive to the utmost of our power to keep his commandments; that we may rejoice in his righteous judgments. For God will judge the world without respect of persons, and every one shall receive according to his works. If a man shall be good, his righteousness shall go before him: if wicked, the reward of his wickedness shall follow him. Take heed therefore, lest sitting still now that we are called, we fall asleep in our sins; and the wicked one

* Vid Gr. Clem. Alex. Isa. v. 21.

getting the dominion over us, stir us up, and shut us out of the kingdom of the Lord, [Matt. xxv. 7, 10.] Consider this also: although you have seen so great signs and wonders done among the people of the Jews, yet this notwithstanding the Lord hath forsaken them. Beware therefore, lest it happen to us, as it is written, "there be many called, but few chosen." [Mat. xii. 14.]

5. For this cause did our Lord vouchsafe to give up his body to destruction, that through the forgiveness of our sins we might be sanctified; that is, by the springling of his blood. Now for what concerns the things that are written about him, some belong to the people of the Jews, and some to us. For thus saith the Scripture; "he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, and by his blood we are healed. He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before his shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth," [Isaiah liii. 5, 7.] Wherefore we ought the more to give thanks unto God, for that he hath both declared unto us what is passed, and not suffered us to be without understanding of those things that are to come.(*f*) But to them he saith; "the nets are not unjustly spread for the birds," [Prov. i. 17.] This he spake, because a man will justly perish, if having the knowledge of the way of truth, he shall nevertheless not refrain himself from the way of darkness. And for this cause the Lord was content to suffer for our souls, although he be the Lord of the whole earth; to whom God said before the beginning of the world, "let us make man after our own image and likeness," [Gen. i. 26.] Now how he suffered for us, seeing it was by men that he underwent it; I will shew you. The prophets having received from him the gift of prophecy, spake before concerning him: but he, that he might abolish death, and make known the resurrection from the dead, was

(*f*) Vid. Edit. Oxon. p. 21.

content, as it was necessary, to appear in the flesh, that he might make good the promise before given to our fathers, and preparing himself a new people, might demonstrate to them whilst he was upon earth, that after the resurrection he would judge the world. And finally teaching the people of Israel, and doing many wonders and signs among them, he preached to them, and shewed the exceeding great love which he bare towards them. And when he chose his Apostles, which were afterwards to publish his Gospel, he took men who had been very great sinners; that thereby he might plainly shew, "that he came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance," [Mat. ix. 13.] Then he clearly manifested himself to be the Son of God. For had he not come in the flesh, how should men have been able to look upon him, that they might be saved? seeing if they behold only the sun, which was the work of his hands, and shall hereafter cease to be, they are not able to endure steadfastly to look against the rays of it. Wherefore the Son of God came in the flesh for this cause, that he might fill up the measure of their iniquity, who have persecuted his prophets unto death. And for the same reason also he suffered; for God hath said, "of the stripes of his flesh, that they were from them."(*h*) And, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered," [Zach. xiii. 6, 7.] Thus he would suffer, because it behoved him to suffer upon the cross. For thus one saith, prophesying concerning him; "spare my soul from the sword."(*i*) And again, "pierce my flesh with thy fear."(*k*) And again, "the congregation of wicked doers rose up against me," ["they have pierced my hands and my

(*h*) Namely, from the Jews.

(*i*) According to the lxx.

(*k*) These words were doubtless cited thus by Barnabas, because that without them, those foregoing do not prove the crucifixion of Christ. But through the repetition of the same preposition, this latter part was so early omitted, that it was not in the Latin interpreter's copy.

feet."] And again he sayeth, "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to be buffeted, and my face I set as an hard rock."*

6. And when he had fulfilled the commandment of God, what says he? "who will contend with me? let him stand against me; or who is he that will implead me? let him draw near to the servant of the Lord. Wo be to you! because ye shall all wax old as a garment, the moth shall eat you up," [Isa. l. 8, 9.] And again the prophet adds, "he is put for a stone of stumbling" [Isa. viii. 14.] "Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation, a precious stone, a choice corner stone; an honourable stone," [Isa. xxviii. 16.] And what follows? "and he that hopeth in him shall live for ever." What then? is our hope built upon a stone? God forbid. But because the Lord hath hardened his flesh against sufferings, *he sayeth I have put me as a firm rock*, [Isa. l. 7.] And again the prophet adds; "the stone which the builders refused is become the head of the corner," [Psal. cxvii. 22.] And again he saith, "this is the great and wonderful day which the Lord hath made," [*ibid.* 23.]† [I write these things the more plainly to you that ye may understand:](*m*) for indeed I could be content even to die for your sakes But what saith the prophet again; "the counsel of the wicked encompassed me about. They came about me as bees about the honey comb:" and "upon my vesture they cast lots," [Psal. xxi. 17. —cxvii. 12—xxi. 19.] Forasmuch then as our Saviour was to appear in the flesh, and suffer; his passion was hereby foretold. For thus saith the prophet against Israel, "wo be to their soul, because they have taken wicked counsel against themselves, saying; let us lay snares for the righteous, because he is unprofitable to us," [Isai. iii. 9.] Moses also in like man-

* Psal. xxii. 20—cxviii: (119, 120.)—xxii. 16, 17—Isa. l. 6.
† Clem. Alex. Strom. v.
(*m*) This is not in the old Lat. version.

ner speaketh to them: "behold thus saith the Lord God; enter ye into the good land of which the Lord hath sworn to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, *and he would give it you*, and possess it; a land flowing with milk and honey." [Exod. xxxiii. 1.] Now what the spiritual meaning of this is, learn; *it is as if it had been said*;(o) put your trust in Jesus, who shall be manifested to you in the flesh. For man is the earth which suffers: forasmuch as out of the substance of the earth Adam was formed. What therefore does he mean when he says, *into a good land flowing with milk and honey?* Blessed be our Lord, who has given us wisdom, and a heart to understand his secrets. For so says the prophet, "who shall understand the hard sayings of the Lord? but he that is wise, and intelligent, and that loves his Lord," [Osee xiv. ult.—Prov. i. 6.—Eccl. i. 10.] Seeing therefore he has renewed us by the remission of our sins, he has put us into another frame, that we should have souls like those of children,(r) forming us again himself by the spirit.(s) For thus the Scripture saith concerning us, where it introduceth the Father speaking to the Son; "let us make man after our likeness and similitude; and let them have dominion over the beasts of the earth, and over the fowls of the air, and over the fish of the sea." And when the Lord saw the man which he had formed, that behold he was very good, he said, "increase and multiply, and replenish the earth."(t) And this he spake to his Son. I will now shew you how he made us a new creature, in the latter days. The Lord saith, "behold I will make the last as the first," [Isai. xliii. 18, 19.—Mat. xx. 16.] Wherefore the prophet thus spake, "enter into the land flowing with milk and honey, and have dominion over it."(w) Wherefore

(o) Vid. Cotel. Annot. Marg. ex Clem. Alex.
(r) Vid. Edit. Oxon. p. 50. b.
(s) Vid. Vet. Lat. Interp.
(t) Gen. i. 26, & 28. comp. Coloss. iii. 10.
(w) Comp. Hebr. iii.

ye see how we are again formed anew; as also he speaks by another prophet: "behold, saith the Lord, I will take from them," that is, from those whom the spirit of the Lord foresaw, "their hearts of stone, and I will put into them hearts of flesh," [Ezek. xi. 19—xxxvi. 26.] Because he was about to be made manifest in the flesh, and to dwell in us. For, my brethren, the habitation of our heart is a holy temple unto the Lord.(x) For the Lord saith again; "in what place shall I appear before the Lord my God, and be glorified?" he answers, "I will confess unto thee in the congregation in the midst of my brethren, and will sing unto thee in the Church of the saints," [Psal. xli. 3.—xxi. 23.] Wherefore we are they whom he has brought into that good land. But what signifies the milk and honey?(y) Because as the child is nourished first with milk, and then with honey; so we being kept alive by the belief of his promises, and his word, shall live and have dominion over the land. For he foretold above, saying, "increase and multiply, and have dominion over the fishes," &c. But who is there that is now able to have this dominion over the wild beasts, or fishes, or fowls of the air? for you know that to rule is to have power that a man should be set over what he rules. But forasmuch as this we have not now, he tells us when we shall have it; namely, when we shall become perfect, that we may be made inheritors of the covenant of the Lord.

7. Understand then, my beloved children, that the good God hath before manifested all things unto us, that we might know to whom we ought always to give thanks and praise. If therefore the Son of God, who is the Lord of all, and shall come to judge both the quick and the dead, hath suffered, that *by his stripes we might live*: let us believe that the Son of

(x) So St. Paul, 1 Cor. iii 16, 17—vi. 19.
(y) Comp. Hier. in Jer. xxxii. 22. Et. in Jer. xi. 5. Add. 1 Pet

God could not have suffered but for us. But, being crucified, they gave him vinegar and gall to drink. Hear therefore how the priests of the temple did foreshew this also: the Lord by his command which was written,(z) declared that whosoever did not fast the appointed fast he should die the death, [Levit. xxiii. 29.] because he also was himself one day to offer up his body for our sins; that so the type of what was done in Isaac might be fulfilled, who was offered upon the altar. What therefore is it that he says by the prophet? "and let them eat of the goat which is offered in the day of the feast for all their sins."(d) Hearken diligently, [my brethren,] and all the priests and they only shall eat the inwards, not washed, with vinegar. Why so? because I know that when I shall hereafter offer my flesh for the sins of a new people, ye will give me vinegar to drink mixed with gall;(e) therefore do ye only eat, the people fasting the while, and lamenting in sackcloth and ashes. And that he might foreshew, that he was to suffer for them, hear then how he appointed it? "Take," says he, "two goats, fair and alike, and offer them; and let the high priest take one of them for a burnt offering."(f) And what must be done with the other? "let it," says he, "be accursed." Consider how exactly this appears to have been a type of Jesus. "And let all the congregation spit upon it, and prick it; and put the scarlet wool about its head: and thus let it be carried forth into the wilderness."(g) And this being done, he that was appointed to convey the goat, led it into the wilderness, and took away the scarlet wool, and put it upon a thorn bush,(h) whose young sprouts

(z) See this applied after the same manner, Heb. x.

(d) Numb. xxix. &c. Vid. Coteler. in Marg. Et Anno. in Lcc. Comp. Observ. Edit. Oxon.

(e) Vid. Annot. Coteler. in loc.

(f) Levit. xvi. Vid. Maimon. Tract. de Die Exp. Edit. du Vei. pag. 330. Add. Annot. Cotel. & Ed. Oxon. in loc.

(g) Vid. Edit. Oxon. p. 40. a. 41. b.

(h) Vid. Naim. ibid. pag. 341. Comp. Annot. Edit. Oxon. in loc.

when we find them in the field we are wont to eat:(*i*) so the fruit of that thorn only is sweet. And to what end was this ceremony? Consider; *one was offered upon the altar, the other was accursed.* And why was that which was accursed, crowned? because they shall see Christ in that day having a scarlet garment about his body, and shall say; is not this he whom we crucified; having despised him, pierced him, mocked him? certainly this is he, who then said, that he was the Son of God. As therefore he shall be then like to what he was on earth, so were the Jews heretofore commanded, *to take two goats, fair and equal.* That when they shall see [*our Saviour*] hereafter coming [*in the clouds of Heaven,*] they may be amazed at the likeness of the goats. Wherefore ye here again see a type of Jesus who was to suffer for us.(*l*) But what then signifies this, *that the wool was to be put into the midst of the thorns?* This also is a figure of Jesus, set out to the Church. For as he who would take away the scarlet wool must undergo many difficulties, because that thorn was very sharp, and with difficulty get it: So they, says Christ, that will see me, and come to my kingdom, must through many afflictions and troubles attain unto me, (See Acts xiv. 22.)

8. But what type do ye suppose it to have been, where it is commanded to the people of Israel, that grown persons in whom sins are come to perfection, should offer a heifer, and after they had killed it should burn the same: (*z*) But then young men should take up the ashes and put them in vessels; and tie a piece of scarlet wool and hyssop upon a stick, and so the young men should sprinkle every one of the people, and they should be clear from their sins? Consider how all these are delivered in a figure to us. (*a*) This

(*i*) Vid. Annot. Isaac. Voff. in loc.

(*l*) Vid. Lat. Ver.

(*z*) Numb. xix. That this also was a type of Christ, see Hebr. ix. 13

(*a*) Vid. Vet. Lat. Interpr. Simplicity. Gr.

heifer is Jesus Christ; the wicked men that were to offer it, are those sinners who brought him to death: Who afterwards have no more to do with it; the sinners have no more the honour of handling it: but the young men that performed the sprinkling, signified those who preached to us the forgiveness of sins, and the purification of the heart, to whom the Lord gave authority to preach his gospel: being at the beginning twelve, to signify the tribes, because there were twelve tribes of Israel. But why were three young men appointed to sprinkle? To denote Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, because they were great before God. And why was the wool put upon a stick? Because the kingdom of Jesus was founded upon the cross; and therefore they that put their trust in him, shall live for ever. But why was the wool and hyssop put together? To signify that in the kingdom of Christ there shall be evil and filthy days, in which however we shall be saved; and (*d*) because he that has any disease in the flesh by some filthy humours, is cured by hyssop. Wherefore these things being thus done, are to us indeed evident, but to the Jews they are obscure; because they hearkened not unto the voice of the Lord.

9. And therefore the Scripture again speaks concerning our ears, that God has circumcised them, together with our hearts. For thus saith the Lord by the holy prophet: "By the hearing of the ear they obeyed me." [Septuag. Psal. xvii. 45.] And again, "They who are afar off, shall hear and understand what things I have done." [Isa. xxxiii. 13.] And again, "Circumcise your hearts saith the Lord." [Jer. iv. 4.] And again he saith, "Hear O Israel! For thus saith the Lord thy God." [Jer. vii. 2.] And again the spirit of God propnesieth, saying: "Who is there that would live for ever," [Psal. xxxiii. xxxiv.] "let him hear the voice of my son." [Isaiah l. 10.] And again,

(*d*) Vid Cotelerr. in loc.

"Hear O Heaven, and give ear O Earth! Because the Lord has spoken these things for a witness." And again he saith, "Hear the word of the Lord, ye princes of the people." [Isaiah i. 2. 10.] And again, "Hear children! The voice of one crying in the wilderness." [Isa. xl. 3.] Wherefore he has circumcised our ears, that we should hear his word, and believe. But as for that circumcision, in which the Jews trust, it is abolished. For the circumcision of which God spake, was not of the flesh: But they have transgressed his commands, because the evil one hath deceived them. For thus God bespeaks them; "Thus saith the Lord your God, [Here I find the new law] sow not among thorns; but circumcise yourselves to the Lord your God." [Jer. iv. 3, 4.] And what doth he mean by this saying? Hearken unto your Lord. And again he saith, "Circumcise the hardness of your heart, and harden not your neck." [Jer. iv. 4.] And again, "Behold saith the Lord, all the nations are uncircumcised [they have not lost their fore-skin;] but this people is uncircumcised in heart." [Deut. x. 16.] But you will say the Jews were uncircumcised for a sign. (*i*) And so are all the Syrians, and Arabians, and all the idolatrous priests: But are they therefore of the covenant of Israel? And even the Egyptians themselves are uncircumcised. Understand therefore, children these things more fully, than Abraham, who was the first that brought in circumcision, looking forward in the spirit to Jesus, circumcised, having received the mystery of three letters. For the Scripture says that Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen men of his house (*k*). But what therefore was the mystery that was made known to him? Mark first the eighteen, and next the three hundred.

(*i*) Vid. Coteler. in loc. Confer. Orig. ad Rom. cap. ii. 25.

(*k*) That many others of the ancient Fathers have concurred with him in this: See Coteler. in loc. Add. Euod. pag. 34, 35. ibid. Ed. Oxon. in loc. An instance of the like kind, see Rev. xiii. 17, 18. Add. Annot. D. Bernard. Edit. Oxon. p. 125.

For the numeral letters of ten and eight, are I H. And these denote Jesus. And because the cross was that by which we were to find grace; therefore he adds, three hundred; the note of which is T. [*the figure of his cross.*] Wherefore by two letters, he signified Jesus, and by the third his cross. He who has put the engrafted gift of his doctrine within us, knows that I never taught to any one a more certain truth: but I trust that ye are worthy of it.

10. But why did Moses say "ye shall not eat of the swine, neither the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the crow, nor any fish that has not a scale upon him?"(*m*) I answer that in the spiritual sense, he comprehended three doctrines, that were to be gathered from thence. Besides which he says to them in the book of Deuteronomy, "and I will give my statutes unto this people." Wherefore it is not the command of God that they should not eat these things; but Moses in the spirit spake unto them. Now the sow he forbade them to eat; meaning thus much: thou shalt not join thyself to such persons as are like unto swine; who whilst they live in pleasure, forget their God; but when any want pinches them, then they know the Lord; as the sow when she is full, knows not her master, but when she is hungry she makes a noise; and being again fed, is silent. Neither, says he, *shalt thou eat the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the kite, nor the crow*: that is, thou shalt not keep company with such kind of men as know not how by their labour and sweat to get themselves food; but injuriously ravish away the things of others, and watch how to lay snares for them; when at the same time they appear to live in perfect innocence. [So these birds alone seek not food for themselves,(*o*) but] sitting idle seek how they may eat of the flesh which others have provided; being destructive through their wickedness. Neither, says

(*m*) That in this he goes on the received opinions of the R R. Vid. Annot. Coteler. & Ed. Oxon. in loc. Levit. xi. Deut. xiv. Add. Ainsworth on Lev. xi. 1. And again on Deut. xiv. 4.

(*o*) Vid. Antiq. Lat. Vers.

be, *shalt thou eat the lamprey, nor the polypus, nor the cuttle-fish*, that is, thou shalt not be like such men, by using to converse with them, who are altogether wicked and adjudged to death. For so those fishes are alone accursed, and wallow in the mire, nor swim as other fishes, but tumble in the dirt at the bottom of the deep. But he adds, *neither shalt thou eat of the hare.*(q) To what end? to signify this to us; thou shalt not be an adulterer; nor liken thyself to such persons. For the hare every year multiplies the places of its conception; and as many years as it lives, so many it has. *Neither shalt thou eat of the hyena:* that is, again, be an adulterer, nor a corrupter of others; neither be like to such. And wherefore so? because that creature every year changes its kind, and is sometimes male, and sometimes female.(u) For which cause also he justly hated the weasel; to the end that they should not be like such persons who with their mouths commit wickedness, by reason of their uncleanness; nor join themselves with those impure women, who with their mouths commit wickedness. Because that animal conceives with its mouth.(w) Moses therefore speaking as concerning meats, delivered indeed three great precepts to them in the spiritual signification of those commands. But they according to the desires of the flesh, understood him as if he had only meant it of meats. And therefore David took aright the knowledge of his threefold command, saying in like manner; "blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly," [Psal. i. 1.] as the fishes before mentioned in the bottom of the deep in darkness: nor stood in the way of sinners; as they who seem to fear the Lord, but yet sin, as the sow. And hath not sat in the seat of the scorners, as those birds who sit and watch that they may devour. Here you have the law concern-

(q) See Coteler. Annot. in loc.

(u) So several naturalists have affirmed, though others deny it: See Annot. Coteler. in loc.

(w) Vid. Arist. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. L. viii. cap. 9. Add. Coteler. in loc.

ing meat perfectly set forth, and according to the true knowledge of it. But says Moses, "ye shall eat all that divideth the hoof, and cheweth the cud. (x) Signifying thereby such a one as having taken his food, knows him that nourisheth him; and resting upon him rejoiceth in him. And in this he spake well, having respect to the commandment. What therefore is it that he says? (y) that we should hold fast to them that fear the Lord, with those who meditate on the command of the word which they have received, in their heart, with those that declare the righteous judgments of the Lord, and keep his commandments; in short, with those who know that to meditate is a work of pleasure, and therefore exercise themselves in the word of the Lord. But why might they eat those that clave the hoof? because the righteous liveth in this present world, but his expectation is fixed upon the other. See brethren, how admirably Moses commanded these things. But how should we thus know all this, and understand it? We therefore understanding aright the commandments, speak as the Lord would have us. Wherefore he has circumcised our ears and our hearts, that we might know these things.

11. Let us now inquire whether the Lord took care to manifest any thing beforehand concerning water, and the cross. Now for the former of these, it is written to the people of Israel how they should not receive that baptism which brings to forgiveness of sins; but shall institute another to themselves, that cannot. For thus saith the prophet, "be astonished O Heaven! and let the earth tremble at it, because this people have done two great and wicked things; they left me, the fountain of living water, and have digged for themselves broken cisterns that can hold no water. Is my holy mountain Zion a desolate wil-

(x) See Edit. Oxon. p. 64. a. So Iren. adv. Her. l. v. c. 8.

(y) Comp. Clem. Alex. l. iii. Pædag. c. 11. Et simil. Orig. Theod. &c. Coteler. Annot. in loc.

derness?(a) for ye shall be as a young bird when its nest is taken away." And again the prophet saith, "I will go before thee, and will make plain the mountains, and will break the gates of brass, and will snap in sunder the bars of iron; and will give thee dark, and hidden, and invisible treasures, that they may know that I am the Lord God," [Jer. ii. 12.—Isa. xvi. 1, 2.—xlv. 2.] And again, "He shall dwell in the high den of the strong rock," [Isa. xxxiii. 16, 17.] And then, what follows in the same prophet? "His water is faithful: ye shall see the king with glory, and your soul shall learn the fear of the Lord." And again he saith in another prophet, he that does these things "shall be like a tree planted by the currents of water, which shall give its fruit in its season. Its leaf also shall not wither, and whatsoever he doth it shall prosper. As for the wicked it is not so with them; but they are as the dust which the wind scattereth away from the face of the earth Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, neither the sinners in the council of the righteous. For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly shall perish," [Psal. i.] Consider how he has joined both the cross and the water together. For this he saith, blessed are they who putting their trust in the cross, descend into the water; for they shall have their reward in due time: then saith he, will I give it them. But as concerning the present time, he saith, *their leaves shall not fall*: meaning thereby, that every word that shall go out of your mouth, shall through faith and charity be to the conversion and hope of many. In like manner does another prophet speak—"and the land of Jacob was the praise of all the earth," [Zeph. iii. 19.] magnifying thereby(b) the vessel of his spirit,(c) and what

(a) Vid. Annot. Coteler. & Ed. Oxon. in loc.

(b) For τουτο λέγει, and ὁ The old interpreter did not read: and Clemens Alex. lib. iii. strom. p. 463, transcribing this passage, saith them not.

(c) i. e. The body of Christ.

follows? "and there was a river running on the right hand and beautiful trees grew up by it; and he that shall eat of them shall live for ever." The signification of which is this; that we go down into the water full of sins and pollutions; but coming up again bringing forth fruit; having in our hearts the fear and hope which is in Jesus, by the spirit. "And whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever."—that is, whosoever shall hearken to those who call them, and shall believe, shall live for ever.

12. In like manner he determines concerning the cross in another prophet,(*d*) saying, *and when shall these things be fulfilled?* The Lord answers, *when the tree that is fallen shall rise, and when blood shall drop down from the tree.* Here you have again mention made, both of the cross, and of him who was to be crucified upon it. And yet farther he saith by Moses;(*e*) (when Israel was fighting with, and beaten by a strange people; to the end that God might put them in mind how that for their sins they were delivered unto death) yea the Holy Spirit put it into the heart of Moses, to represent both the sign of the cross, and of him that was to suffer: that so they might know that if they did not believe in him, they should be overcome for ever. Moses therefore piled up armour upon armour in the middle of a rising ground, and standing up high above all of them stretched forth his arms, and so Israel again conquered. But no sooner did he let down his hands, but they were again slain. And why so? to the end they might know, that except they trust in him, they cannot be saved. And in another prophet he saith, "I have stretched out my hands all the day long to a people disobedient, and speaking against my righteous way," [Isa. lxv. 2.] And

(*d*) Vid Conject. Edit. Exon. Com. iv. Esdr. v. 4. Et Obs. Cotel. in loc.

(*e*) See St. Hier. in like manner. Annot. D. Bernard. p. 124. Edit. Oxon. Exod. xvii.

again Moses makes a type of Jesus,(*h*) to shew that he was to die, and then that he, whom they thought to be dead, was to give life to others; in the type of those that fell in Israel. For God caused all sorts of serpents to bite them, and they died; forasmuch as by a serpent transgression began in Eve, that so he might convince them that for their transgressions they shall be delivered into the pain of death. Moses then himself, who had commanded them, saying, "ye shall not make to yourselves any graven, or molten image, to be your God," [Deut. xxvii. 15] yet now did so himself, that he might represent to them the figure of the Lord Jesus. For he made a brazen serpent, and set it up on high, and called the people together by a proclamation: where being come, they entreated Moses that he would make an atonement for them, and pray that they might be healed. Then Moses spake unto them, saying; when any one among you shall be bitten, "let him come unto the serpent that is set upon the pole; and let him assuredly trust in him, that though he be dead, yet he is able to give life, and presently he shall be saved;" and so they did. *See therefore how here also* you have in this the glory of Jesus; and that *in him and to him are all things.* Again, what says Moses to Jesus the Son of Nun, when he gave that name unto him, as being a prophet, that all the people might hear him alone, because the Father did manifest all things concerning his Son Jesus, in Jesus the Son of Nun;(*m*) and gave him that name when he sent him to spy out the land of Canaan; he said,(*n*) "take a book in thine hands, and write what the Lord saith; forasmuch as Jesus the Son of God, shall in the last days cut off by the roots all the house of Amalech." See here again Jesus, not the son of man, but the Son of God, made

(*h*) So Irenæus, Just. Mart. St. Chryost. &c. Vid. Edit. Oxon. p. 77 a.

(*m*) So the other fathers. Just. Mart. &c. Vid. Edit. Oxon. p. 79.

(*n*) Vid. Interp. Vet. Lat. Exod. xvii. 14.

manifest in a type and in the flesh. But because it might hereafter be said, that Christ was the Son of David; therefore David fearing and well knowing the errors of the wicked,(*o*) saith, "the Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool," [Psal. cix. 3.] And again Isaiah speaketh on this wise, "the Lord said unto Christ my Lord,(*p*) I have laid hold on his right hand, that the nations should obey before him, and I will break the strength of kings." Behold, how both David and Isaiah call him Lord, and the Son of God.(*q*)

13. But let us go yet farther, and inquire whether this people be the heir, or the former; and whether the covenant be with us, or with them. And first, as concerning the people, hear now what the Scripture saith. Isaac prayed for his wife Rebeckah, because she was barren; and she conceived. Afterwards Rebeckah went forth to inquire of the Lord.(*r*) And the Lord said unto her, "there are two nations in thy womb, and two people shall come from thy body; and the one shall have power over the other, and the greater shall serve the lesser." Understand here who was Isaac; who was Rebeckah; and of whom it was foretold, that this people should be greater than that. And in another prophecy Jacob speaketh more clearly to his son Joseph, saying; "behold the Lord hath not deprived me of seeing thy face, bring me thy sons that I may bless them," [Gen. xlviii.] And he brought unto his father Manasseh and Ephraim, desiring that he should bless Manasseh, because he was the elder. Therefore Joseph brought him to the right hand of his Father Jacob. But Jacob by the Spirit foresaw the figure of the people that was to come. And what saith the Scripture? and Jacob crossed his hands, and put his right hand upon Ephraim, his second and

(*o*) Comp. Vet. Lat. Interp.
(*p*) Vid. Annot. Coteler in loc. Edit. Oxon. p. 78. c.
(*q*) Comp. Vet. Lat. Interp.
(*r*) Gen. xxv. 21. Comp. Rom. ix. Just. Mart. Tert. &c. Vid. Ed. Oxon. p. 81. a.

the younger son, and blessed him. And Joseph said unto Jacob; put thy right hand upon the head of Manasseh, for he is my first born son. And Jacob said unto Joseph; I know it, my son, I know it; but the greater shall serve the lesser; though he also shall be blessed Ye see of whom he appointed it, that they should be the first people, and heirs of the covenant. If therefore God shall have yet farther taken notice of this by Abraham too, our understanding of it will then be perfectly established. What then saith the Scripture to Abraham, when "he believed, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness? behold I have made thee a father of the nations, which without circumcision believe in the Lord."(*s*)

14. Let us therefore now inquire, whether God has fulfilled the covenant, which he sware to our fathers, that he would give this people? Yes verily, he gave it; but they were not worthy to receive it by reason of their sins. For thus saith the prophet: "and Moses continued fasting in Mount Sinai, to receive the covenant of the Lord with the people, forty days and forty nights," [Exod. xxiv. 18.] And he received of the Lord two tables written with the finger of the Lord's hand in the Spirit. And Moses when he had received them brought them down that he might deliver them to the people. And the Lord said unto Moses; Moses, Moses, "get thee down quickly, for the people which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt have done wickedly," [Deuter. ix. 10, 12—Exod. xxxi. 12.—xxxii. 7.] And Moses understood that they had again set up a molten image; and he cast the two tables out of his hands; and the tables of the covenant of the Lord were broken. Moses therefore received them, but they were not worthy. Now then learn how we have received them. Moses, being a servant took them; but the Lord himself has

(*s*) Gen. xv. 17. So St. Paul himself applies this, Rom. iv. 3.

given them unto us, that we might be the people of his inheritance, having suffered for us. He was therefore made manifest, that they should fill up the measure of their sins, and that we(*t*) being made heirs by him, should receive the covenant of the Lord Jesus. And again the prophet saith, "behold, I have set thee for a light unto the Gentiles, to be the Saviour of all the ends of the earth, saith the Lord the God who hath redeemed thee," [Isa. xlix. 6.] Who for that very end was prepared, that by his own appearing he might redeem our hearts, already devoured by death, and delivered over to the irregularity of error, from darkness: and establish a covenant with us by his word. For so it is written, that the Father commanded him, by delivering us from darkness, to prepare unto himself a holy people. Wherefore the prophet saith; "I the Lord thy God have called thee in righteousness, and I will take thee by thy hand and will strengthen thee. And give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles. To open the eyes of the blind, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house," [Isa. xlii. 6, 7.] Consider therefore from whence we have been redeemed. And again the prophet saith, "the spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me; he hath sent me to preach glad tidings to the lowly, to heal the broken in heart, to preach remission to the captives, and sight unto the blind: to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of restitution, to comfort all that mourn."*

15. Furthermore it is written concerning the sabbath, in the ten commandments, which God spake in the Mount Sinai to Moses, face to face: "sanctify the sabbath of the Lord with pure hands, and with a clean heart," [Exod. xx. 2.] And elsewhere he saith, "if thy children shall keep my sabbaths, then will

(*t*) Vid. Lat. Interp. Vet.
* Isa. lxi. 1, 2. Comp. Luke iv. 18

I put my mercy upon them," [Jer. xvii. 24.] And even in the beginning of the creation he makes mention of the sabbath. "And God made in six days the works of his hands; and he finished them on the seventh day, and he rested the seventh day and sanctified it."(*w*) Consider, my children, what that signifies, *he finished them in six days*. The meaning of it is this; that in six thousand years the Lord God will bring all things to an end.(*x*) For with him one day is a thousand years; as himself testifieth, saying, "behold this day shall be as a thousand years." Therefore, children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, shall all things be accomplished.(*y*) And what is that he saith, "and he rested the seventh day." He meaneth this; that when his Son shall come, and abolish the season of the wicked one, and judge the ungodly; and shall change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then he shall gloriously rest in that seventh day. He adds lastly, "thou shalt sanctify it with clean hands and a pure heart." Wherefore we are greatly deceived if we imagine that any one can now sanctify that day which God has made holy, without having a heart pure in all things. Behold therefore, he will then truly sanctify it with blessed rest, when we (having received the righteous promise, when iniquity shall be no more, all things being renewed by the Lord) shall be able to sanctify it, being ourselves first made holy. Lastly, he saith unto them, "your new moons and your sabbaths, I cannot bear them" [Isa. i. 13.] Consider what he means by it; the sabbaths, says he, which ye now keep are not acceptable unto me, but those which I have made, when resting from all things, I shall begin the eighth

(*w*) Gen. ii. 2.—Exod. xx. 11. xxxi. 17.—Vid Coteler Annot. in loc

(*x*) How general this tradition then was See Coteler. Annot. in loc E i Oxon p. 90 a. Psal. lxxxix. 4.

(*y*) That is to the time of the Gospel, says Dr. Bernard. q. v. Annot. p. 127. Ed. Oxon.

day, that is, the beginning of the other world.(*a*) For which cause we observe the eighth day with gladness, in which Jesus rose from the dead; and having manifested himself to his disciples, ascended into heaven.

16. It remains yet that I speak to you concerning the temple: how those miserable men being deceived have put their trust in the house,(*b*) and not in God himself who made them, as if it were the habitation of God. For much after the same manner as the Gentiles, they consecrated him in the temple. But learn therefore how the Lord speaketh, rendering the temple vain: "who has measured the heaven with a span, and the earth with his hand? Is it not I? Thus saith the Lord; heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool. What is the house that ye will build me? or what is the place of my rest?" [Isa. xl. 12.—lxvi. 1.] Know therefore that all their hope is vain. And again he speaketh after this manner; "behold they that destroy this temple, even they shall again build it up," [Isa. xlix. 17.] And so it came to pass; for through their wars it is now destroyed by their enemies; and the servants of their enemies build it up. Furthermore, it has been made manifest, how both the city, and the temple, and the people of Israel should be given up. For the scripture saith, "and it shall come to pass in the last days, that the Lord will deliver up the heep of his pasture, and their fold, and their tower unto destruction," [Zephan. ii. 6, juxt. Hebr.] And it has come to pass, as the Lord hath spoken. Let us inquire therefore, whether there be any temple of God? Yes there is; and that there, where himself declares that he would both make and perfect it. For it is written; "and it shall be that as soon as the week shall be completed, the temple of the Lord shall be gloriously built in the name of the Lord," [Dan. ix.—Haggai ii.] I find therefore that there is a temple. But how shall it be

(*a*) So the other fathers, q. v. Apud. Coteler. Annot. in loc. p. 36.
(*b*) Vid Edit. Oxon. & Vet. Lat. Interp.

built in the name of the Lord? I will shew you. Before that we believed in God, the habitation of our heart, was corruptible and feeble, as a temple truly built with hands. For it was a house full of idolatry, a house of devils; inasmuch as there was done in it whatsoever was contrary unto God. But it shall be built in the name of the Lord. Consider, how that the temple of the Lord shall be very gloriously built; and by what means that shall be, learn. Having received remission of our sins, and trusting in the name of the Lord, we are become renewed, being again created as it were from the beginning. Wherefore God truly dwells in our house, that is, in us. But how does he dwell in us? The word of his faith, the calling of his promise, the wisdom of his righteous judgments, the commands of his doctrine; he himself prophecies within us, he himself dwelleth in us, and openeth to us who were in bondage of death the grace of our temple, that is, the mouth of wisdom, having given repentance unto us; and by this means has brought us to be an incorruptible temple. He therefore that desires to be saved looketh not unto the man, but unto him that dwelleth in him, and speaketh by him; being struck with wonder, forasmuch as he never either heard him speaking such words out of his mouth, nor ever desired to hear them. This is that spiritual temple that is built unto the Lord.

17. And thus I trust, I have declared to you as much, and with as great simplicity as I could, those things which make for your salvation, so as not to have omitted any thing that might be requisite thereunto. For should I speak farther of the things that now are, and of those that are to come, you would not yet understand them, seeing they lie in parables. This therefore shall suffice as to these things.

18. Let us now go on to the other kind of knowledge and doctrine. There are two ways of doctrine and power; the one of light, the other of darkness. But there is a great deal of difference between these

two ways; for over one are appointed the angels of God,(e) the leaders of the way of light; over the other the angels of satan. And the one is the Lord from everlasting to everlasting; the other is the prince of the time of unrighteousness.

19. Now the way of light is this, if any one desires to attain to the place that is appointed for him, and will hasten thither by his works. And the knowledge that has been given to us for walking in it, is to this effect. *Thou shalt love him that made thee: *thou shalt glorify him that hath redeemed thee from death. *Thou shalt be simple in heart, and *rich in the spirit. *Thou shalt not cleave to those that walk in the way of death. *Thou shalt hate to do any thing that is not pleasing unto God. *Thou shalt abhor all dissimulation. *Thou shalt not neglect any of the commands of the Lord. *Thou shalt not exalt thyself, but shalt be humble. *Thou shalt not take honour to thyself. *Thou shalt not enter into any wicked counsel against thy neighbour. *Thou shalt not be over confident in thy heart. *Thou shalt not commit *fornication; nor *adultry. Neither shalt thou *corrupt thyself with mankind. *Thou shalt not make use of the word of God, to any impurity. *Thou shalt not accept any man's person, when thou reprovest any ones faults. *Thou shalt be gentle. *Thou shalt be quiet. *Thou shalt tremble at the words which thou hast heard. *Thou shalt not keep any hatred in thy heart against thy brother. *Thou shalt not entertain any doubt whether it shall be or not. *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain. *Thou shalt love thy neighbour above thy own soul. *Thou shalt not destroy thy conceptions before they are brought forth; nor kill them after they are born. *Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter; but shalt teach them from their youth the fear of the Lord. *Thou

(e) Vide Coteler. in loc. Et Basil in Psal. i.

shalt not covet thy neighbours goods; neither shalt thou be an extortioner. *Neither shall thy heart be joined to proud men; but thou shalt be numbered among the righteous and the lowly. *Whatever events shall happen unto thee, thou shalt receive them as good. *Thou shalt not be double minded, or double tongued; for a double tongue is the snare of death. *Thou shalt be subject unto the Lord and to inferior masters as to the representatives of God, in fear and reverence. *Thou shalt not be bitter in thy commands towards any of thy servants that trust in God, lest thou chance not to fear him who is over both; because he came not to call any with respect of persons; but whomsoever the spirit had prepared. *Thou shalt communicate to thy neighbour of all thou hast; thou shalt not call any thing thine own: for if ye partake in such things as are incorruptible, how much more should ye do it in those that are corruptible? *Thou shalt not be forward to speak, for the mouth is the snare of death (*h*) *Strive for thy soul with all thy might.(*i*) *Reach not out thine hand to receive, and withhold it not when thou shouldest give.(*k*) *Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye, every one that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord. *Call to thy remembrance day and night, the future judgment.(*l*) *Thou shalt seek out every day the persons of the righteous: *and both consider, and go about to exhort others by the word, and meditate how thou mayest save a soul. *Thou shalt also labour with thy hands to give to the poor, that thy sins may be forgiven thee.(*n*) *Thou shalt not deliberate whether thou shouldest give; *nor having given,

(*h*) See Ecclus. iv. 34.

(*i*) Ibid. ver. 33. For so I chose to read it, ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σε ἀγωνεῦσεις, according to the conjecture of Cotelerius.

(*k*) Ibid. ver. 36

(*l*) And remember him night and day. The words ἡμέρας κρίσεως, seem to have been erroneously inserted, and pervert the sense.

(*n*) Gr. For the redemption of thy sins. Comp. Dan. iv. 24. See LXX.

murmur at it. *Give to every one that asks; so shalt thou know who is the good rewarder of thy gifts. *Keep what thou hast received; thou shalt neither add to it, nor take from it. *Let the wicked be always thy aversion. *Thou shalt judge righteous judgment. *Thou shalt never cause divisions, but shalt make peace between those that are at variance, and bring them together. *Thou shalt confess thy sins; *and not come to thy prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of light.

20. But the way of darkness is crooked, and full of cursing. For it is the way of eternal death, with punishment; in which they that walk meet those things that destroy their own souls. Such are; idolatry, confidence, pride of power, hypocrisy, double-mindedness, adultery, murder, rapine, pride, transgression, deceit, malice, arrogance, witchcraft, covetousness, and the want of the fear of God. In this walk those who are the persecutors of them that are good, haters of truth, lovers of lies; who know not the reward of righteousness, nor cleave to any thing that is good. Who administer not righteous judgment to the widow and orphan; who watch for wickedness, and not for the fear of the Lord: from whom gentleness and patience are far off; who love vanity, and follow after rewards; having no compassion upon the poor, nor take any pains for such as are heavy laden and oppressed: ready to evil speaking, not knowing him that made them: murderers of children; corrupters of the creature of God; that turn away from the needy; oppress the afflicted: are the advocates of the rich, but unjust judges of the poor; being altogether sinners.

21. It is therefore fitting that learning the just commands of the Lord, which we have before mentioned, we should walk in them For he who does such things shall be glorified in the kingdom of God. But he that chooses the other part, shall be destroyed together with his works. For this cause there shall be

both a resurrection, and a retribution. I beseech those that are in high estate among you, (if so be you will take the counsel which with a good intention I offer to you,) you have those with you towards whom you may do good; do not forsake them. For the day is at hand in which all things shall be destroyed, together with the wicked one. The Lord is near, and his reward is with him. I beseech you therefore again and again, be as good law givers to one another; continue faithful counsellors to each other: remove from among you all hypocrisy. And may God, the Lord of all the world give you wisdom, knowledge, counsel and understanding of his judgments in patience. Be ye taught of God; seeking what it is the Lord requires of you, and doing it, that ye may be saved in the day of judgment. And if there be among you any remembrance of what is good, think of me; meditating upon these things, that both my desire and my watching for you may turn to a good account. I beseech you; I ask it as a favour of you, whilst you are in this beautiful tabernacle of the body, be wanting in none of these things; but without ceasing seek them, and fulfil every command: for these things are fitting and worthy to be done. Wherefore I have given the more diligence to write unto you, according to my ability, that you might rejoice. Farewell, children of love and peace. The Lord of glory and of all grace, be with your spirit.—*Amen.*

The end of the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apostle, and fellow traveller of St. Paul the Apostle.

VISIONS OF ST. HERMAS.

BOOK I.

AGAINST FILTHY AND PROUD THOUGHTS: ALSO THE NEGLECT OF HERMAS IN CHASTISING HIS CHILDREN.

1. HE who bred me up sold a certain young maid at Rome; whom when I saw many years after, I remembered her, and began to love her as a sister. It happened some time afterwards, that I saw her washing in the river Tyber; and I reached out my hand unto her, and brought her out of the river. And when I saw her, I thought with myself, saying, how happy should I be if I had such a wife, both for beauty and manners. This I thought with myself; nor did I think any thing more. But not long after, as I was walking and musing on these thoughts, I began to honour this creature of God, thinking with myself how noble and beautiful she was. And when I had walked a little, I fell asleep. And the spirit caught me away, and carried me through a certain place towards the right hand, through which no man could pass. It was a place among rocks, very steep, and impassable for water. When I was past this place, I came into a plain, and there falling down upon my knees, I began to pray unto the Lord, and to confess my sins. And as I was praying, the Heaven was opened, and I saw the woman which I had coveted, saluting me from Heaven, and saying, Hermas, hail! and I looking upon her, answered, lady, what dost

thou do here? she answered me, I am taken up hither to accuse thee of sin before the Lord.(*a*) Lady, said I, wilt thou convince me?(*b*) no, said she; but hear the words which I am about to speak unto thee. God who dwelleth in Heaven, and hath made all things out of nothing, and hath multiplied them for his holy churches sake, is angry with thee, because thou hast sinned against me. And I answering, said unto her, lady, if I have sinned against thee, tell me where, or in what place, or when did I ever speak an unseemly or dishonest word unto thee? have I not always esteemed thee as a lady? have I not always reverenced thee as a sister? why then dost thou imagine these wicked things against me? Then she, smiling upon me, said; the desire of naughtiness has risen up in thy heart. Does it not seem to thee to be an ill thing for a righteous man to have an evil desire rise up in his heart? it is indeed a sin, and that a very great one, to such a one; for a righteous man thinketh that which is righteous. And whilst he does so, and walketh uprightly, he shall have the Lord in Heaven favourable unto him in all his business. But as for those who think wickedly in their hearts, they take to themselves death and captivity; and especially those who love this present world, and glory in their riches, and regard not the good things that are to come; their souls wonder up and down, and know not where to fix. Now this is the case of such as are double-minded, who trust not in the Lord, and dispise and neglect their own life. But do thou pray unto the Lord, and he will heal thy sins, and the sins of the whole house, and of all his saints.

2. As soon as she had spoken these words the Heavens were shut, and I remained utterly swallowed up with sadness and fear; and said within myself, if this be laid against me for sin, how can I be saved? or

(*a*) In MS. Lambeth. Præcepta fum a Domino ut tibi præcepta tua arguam. I am commanded of the Lord to reprove thee for thy sins.

(*b*) In MS. Wilt thou accuse me.

how shall I ever be able to entreat the Lord for my many and great sins? with what words shall I beseech him to be merciful unto me? As I was thinking over these things, and meditating in myself upon them, behold a chair was set over against me of the whitest wool, as bright as snow. And there came an old woman in a bright garment, having a book in her hand, and sat alone, and saluted me, saying, Hermas, hail. And I being full of sorrow, and weeping, answered, hail, lady! and she said unto me, why art thou sad, Hermas, who wert wont to be patient, and modest, and always cheerful? I answered and said to her, lady, a reproach has been laid to my charge by an excellent woman, who tells me that I have sinned against her. She replied, far be any such thing from the servant of God. But it may be the desire of her has risen up in thy heart? for indeed such a thought maketh the servants of God guilty of sin; nor ought such a detestable thought to be in the servant of God; nor should he who is approved by the Spirit, desire that which is evil; but especially Hermas, who contains himself from all wicked lusts, and is full of all simplicity, and of great innocence.

3. Nevertheless the Lord is not so much angry with thee for thine own sake, as upon the account of thy house, which has committed wickedness against the Lord, and against their parents. And for that out of thy fondness towards thy sons; thou hast not admonished thy house, but hast permitted them to live wickedly; for this cause the Lord is angry with thee: but he will heal all the evils that are done in thy house. For through their sins and iniquities, thou art wholly consumed in secular affairs. But now the mercy of God hath taken compassion upon thee, and upon thine house, and hath greatly comforted thee.(c) Only as for thee, do not wonder, but be of an even mind, and comfort thy house. As the workman

* Vid. Hieron. in Hoseam. vii. 9.

(c) In glory. Edit. Oxon. Hath preserved thee in honour.

bringing forth his work, offers it to whomsoever he pleases; so shalt thou by teaching every day what is just, cut off a great sin. Wherefore cease not to admonish thy sons, for the Lord knows that they will repent with all their heart, and they shall be written in the book of life (*d*) And when she had said this, she added unto me; wilt thou hear me read? I answered her, lady, I will. Hear then, said she; and opening the book, she read, gloriously, greatly, and wonderfully, such things as I could not keep in my memory. For they were terrible words, such as no man could bear. Howbeit I committed her last words to my remembrance; for they were but few, and of great use to us. "Behold the mighty Lord, who by his invisible power, and with his excellent wisdom made the world, and by his glorious counsel beautified his creature, and with the word of his strength fixed the Heaven, and founded the earth upon the waters; and by his mighty power established his holy Church, which he hath blessed; behold, he will remove the heavens, and the mountains, the hills and the seas; and all things shall be made plain for his elect; that he may render unto them the promise which he has promised, with much honour and joy, if so be that they shall keep the commandments of God, which they have received with great faith."

4. And when she had made an end of reading, she rose out of the chair; and behold four young men came and carried the chair to the east And she called me unto her, and touched my breast, and said unto me, did my reading please thee? I answered, lady, these last things please me, but what went before was severe and hard. She said unto me, these last things are for the righteous, but the foregoing for the revolters and heathen. And as she was talking with me, two men appeared and took her upon their shoulders, and went to the east, where the chair was.

(*d*) So MS. Lamb. Et describentur in libre Vitæ.

And she went cheerfully away; and as she was going said unto me, Hermas, be of good cheer.

VISION II.

AGAIN, OF HIS NEGLECT IN CORRECTING HIS TALKATIVE WIFE, AND OF HIS LEWD SONS.

1. AS I was on the way to Cumæ, about the same time that I went the year before, I began to call to mind the vision I formerly had. And again the Spirit carried me away, and brought me into the same place in which I had been the year before. And when I was come into the place, I fell down upon my knees and began to pray unto the Lord, and to glorify his name, that he had esteemed me worthy, and had manifested unto me my former sins. And when I arose from prayer, behold I saw over against me the old woman whom I had seen the last year, walking and reading in a certain book. And she said unto me, canst thou tell these things to the elect of God? I answered and said unto her, lady, I cannot retain so many things in my memory, but give me the book and I will write them down. Take it, says she, and see that thou restore it again to me. As soon as I had received it, I went aside into a certain place of the field, and transcribed every letter, for I found no syllables. And as soon as I had finished what was written in the book, the book was suddenly caught out of my hands, but by whom I saw not.

2. After fifteen days, when I had fasted, and entreated the Lord with all earnestness, the knowledge of the writing was revealed unto me. Now the writing was this; thy seed, O Hermas! hath sinned against the Lord, and have betrayed their parents,

through their great wickedness. And they have been called the betrayers of their parents, and have gone on in their treachery. And now have they added lewdness to their other sins, and the pollutions of naughtiness: thus have they filled up the measure of their iniquities. But do thou upbraid thy sons with all these words; and thy wife, which shall be thy sister; and let her learn to refrain her tongue, with which she calumniates. For when she shall hear these things, she will refrain herself, and shall obtain mercy. And they also shall be instructed,(*g*) when thou shalt have reproached them with these words, which the Lord has commanded to be revealed unto thee. Then shall their sins be forgiven which they have heretofore committed, and the sins of all the saints, who have sinned even unto this day; if they shall repent with all their hearts, and remove all doubts out of their hearts. For the Lord hath sworn by his glory concerning his elect,(*h*) having determined this very time, that if any one shall even now sin, he shall not be saved. For the repentance of the righteous has its end: the days of repentance are fulfilled to all the saints; but to the heathen, there is repentance even unto the last day. Thou shalt therefore say to those who are over the Church, that they order their ways in righteousness, that they may fully receive the promise with much glory. Stand fast therefore ye that work righteousness; and continue to do it, that your departure may be with the holy angels. Happy are ye, as many as shall endure the great trial that is at hand, and whosoever shall not deny his life. For the Lord hath sworn by his son, that whoso denieth his son and him, being afraid of his life, he will also deny him in the world that is to come. But those who shall never deny him, he will of his exceeding great mercy be favourable unto them.

(*g*) So one MS. in Coteler. Edit. Oxon. And she, &c.

(*h*) Day. Præfinita ista die etiam nunc si peccaverit Aliquis. Lat.

3. But thou, O Hermas! remember not the evils which thy sons have done, neither neglect thy sister, but take care that they amend of their former sins. For they will be instructed by this doctrine, if thou shalt not be mindful of what they have done wickedly. For the remembrance of evils worketh death; but the forgetting of them, life eternal. But thou, O Hermas! hast undergone a great many worldly troubles for the offences of thy house, because thou hast neglected them, as things that did not belong unto thee; and thou art wholly taken up with thy great business. Nevertheless, for this cause shalt thou be saved, that thou hast not departed from the living God; and thy simplicity and singular continency shall preserve thee, if thou shalt continue in them. Yea, they shall save all such as do such things, and walk in innocence and simplicity. They who are of this kind, shall prevail against all impiety, and continue unto life eternal. Happy are all they that do righteousness, they shall not be consumed for ever. But thou wilt say; behold there is a great trial coming. If it seems good to thee, deny him again. The Lord is nigh to them that turn to him, as it is written in the books of Heldam and Modal,(*m*) who prophesied to the people of Israel in the wilderness.

4. Moreover brethren, it was revealed to me, as I was sleeping by a very goodly young man, saying unto me; what thinkest thou of that old woman from whom thou receivedst the book; who is she? I answered, a Sybil. Thou art mistaken, said he, she is not. I replied, who is she then, sir? He answered me, it is the Church of God. And I said unto him, why then does she appear old? She is therefore, said he, an old woman, because she was the first of all creation, and the world was made for her.(*n*) After this I saw a vision at home in my own house, and the

(*m*) Eldad and Medad. Numb. xi. 26, 27.

(*n*) See Dr. Grabe's Annot. to Bishop Bull's Def. Fid. Nic. part. 24. Fol. de S. Herma.

old woman whom I had seen before, came to me, and asked me whether I had yet delivered her book to the elders of the Church ?(o) and I answered, that I had not yet. She replied, thou hast well done, for I have certain words more to tell thee. But when I shall have finished all the words, they shall be clearly understood by the elect. And thou shalt write two books, and send one to Clement, and one Grapte. For Clement shall send it to the foreign cities, because it is permitted to him so to do: but Grapte shall admonish the widows and orphans. But thou shalt read in this city with the elders of the Church.

VISION III.

OF THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH-TRIUMPHANT; AND OF THE SEVERAL SORTS OF REPROBATES.

1. The vision which I saw, brethren, was this. When I had often fasted and prayed unto the Lord, that he would manifest unto me the revelation, which he had promised by the old woman to shew unto me; the same night she appeared unto me, and said unto me: because thou dost thus afflict thyself, and art so desirous to know all things, come into the field where thou wilt, and about the sixth hour I will appear unto thee, and shew thee what thou must see. I asked her, saying; lady, into what part of the field? She answered, wherever thou wilt, only choose a good and a private place. And before I began to speak and to tell her the place, she said unto me, I will come where thou wilt. I was therefore, brethren, in the field, and I observed the hours, and came into the place where I had appointed her to come. And I

(o) Suum is added in the Lambeth MS.

beheld a bench placed; it was a linen pillow, and over it spread a cover of fine linen. When I saw these things ordered in this manner, and that there was nobody in the place, I began to be astonished, and my hair stood on end, and a kind of horror seized me, for I was alone. But being come to myself, and calling to mind the glory of God, and taking courage, I fell down upon my knees, and began again to confess my sins as before. And whilst I was doing this, the old woman came thither with the six young men whom I had seen before, and stood behind me as I was praying, and heard me praying and confessing my sins unto the Lord. And touching me, she said, leave off now to pray only for thy sins, pray also for righteousness, that thou mayest receive a part of her in thy house. And she lifted me up from the place, and took me by the hand, and brought me to the seat; and said to the young men, go and build. As soon as they were departed, and we were alone, she said unto me, sit here. I answered her, lady, let those who are elder sit first. She replied, sit down as I bid you. And when I would have sat on the right side, she suffered me not but made a sign to me with her hand, that I should sit on the left. As I was therefore musing, and full of sorrow, that she would not suffer me to sit on the right side, she said unto me, Hermas, why art thou sad? the place which is on the right hand is their's who have already attained unto God, and have suffered for his name sake. But there is yet a great deal remaining unto thee, before thou canst sit with them. But continue as thou dost, in thy sincerity, and thou shalt sit with them; as all others shall that do their works, and shall bear what they have borne.

2. I said unto her, lady, I would know what it is that they have suffered? Hear then, said she: wild beasts, scourgings, imprisonments, and crosses for his name sake. For this cause the right hand of holiness belongs to them, and to all others as shall suffer

for the name of God ; but the left belongs to the rest. Howbeit the gifts and the promises belong to both, to them on the right, and to those on the left hand ; only that sitting on the right hand they have some glory above the others. But thou art desirous to sit on the right hand with them ; yet thy defects are many. But thou shalt be purged from thy defects : as also all who doubt not, shall be cleansed from all the sins which they have committed unto this day. And when she had said this, she would have departed ; wherefore falling down before her feet, I began to entreat her, for the Lord's sake, that she would shew me the vision which she had promised. Then she again took me by the hand, and lifted me up, and made me sit upon the seat on the left side, and holding up a certain bright wand, said unto me, seest thou that great thing? I replied, lady, I see nothing. She answered, dost thou not see over against thee a great tower, which is built upon the water with bright square stones? for the tower was built upon a square by those six young men that came with her. But many thousands of other men brought stones ; some drew them out of the deep, others carried them from the ground and gave them to the six young men And they took them and built. As for those stones which were drawn out of the deep, they put them all into the building ; for they were polished, and their squares exactly answered one another, and so one was joined in such wise to the other, that there was no space to be seen where they joined ; insomuch that the whole tower appeared to be built as it were of one stone. But as for the other stones that were taken off from the ground, some of them they rejected, others they fitted into the building. As for those which were rejected some they cut out, and cast them at a distance from the tower : but many others of them lay round about the tower, which they made no use of in the building For some of these were rough, others had clefts in them ; others were white and round, not

proper for the building of the tower. But I saw the other stones cast afar off from the tower, and falling into the high way, and yet not continuing in the way, but were rolled from the way into a desert place. Others I saw falling into the fire and burning; others fell near the water, yet could not roll themselves into it, though very desirous to fall into the water.

3. And when she had shewed me these things, she would have departed But I said unto her, lady, what does it profit me to see these things, and not understand what they mean? She answered and said unto me, you are very cunning, in that you are desirous to know those things which relate to the tower. Yea, said I, lady, that I may declare them unto the brethren; and they may rejoice, and hearing these things may glorify God with great glory. Then she said, many indeed shall hear them, and when they shall have heard them, some shall rejoice and others weep. And yet even these, if they shall repent, shall rejoice too. Hear therefore what I shall say concerning the parable of the tower, and after this be no longer importunate with me about the revelation. For these revelations have an end, seeing they are fulfilled. But thou dost not leave off to desire revelations; for thou art very urgent. As for the tower which thou seest built, it is I myself, namely, the Church, which have appeared to thee both now, and heretofore. Wherefore ask what thou wilt concerning the tower, and I will reveal it unto thee, that thou mayest rejoice with the saints. I said unto her, lady, because thou hast thought me once worthy to receive from thee the revelation of all these things, declare them unto me. She answered me, whatsoever is fit to be revealed unto thee, shall be revealed: only let thy heart be with the Lord,(*a*) and doubt not, whatsoever thou shalt see. I asked her, lady, why is the tower built upon the water? She replied, I said before to thee that thou

(*a*) Clem. Alex. Strom. xii.

wert very wise, to inquire diligently concerning the building, therefore thou shalt find the truth. Hear therefore why the tower is built upon the water : because your life is and shall be saved by water. For it is founded by the word of the Almighty an honourable name ; and is supported by the invisible power and virtue of God.

4. And I answering, said unto her, these things are very admirable : but lady, who are those six young men that build ? They are, said she, the angels of God, which were first appointed, and to whom the Lord has delivered all his creatures, to frame and build them up, and rule over them. For by these the building of the tower shall be finished. And who are the rest who bring them stones ; they also are the holy angels of the Lord ; but the other are more excellent than these. Wherefore when the whole building of the tower shall be finished, they shall all feast together beside the tower, and shall glorify God, because the structure of the tower is finished. I asked her, saying, I would know the condition of the stones, and meaning of them, what it is ? She answering said unto me, art thou better than all others, that this should be revealed unto thee ? For others are both before thee, and better than thou art, to whom these visions should be made manifest ; nevertheless that the name of God may be glorified, it has been, and shall be revealed unto thee, for the sake of those who are doubtful, and think in their hearts whether these things are so or not ? Tell them that all these things are true ; and that there is nothing in them that is not true ; but all are firm, and truly established.

5. Hear now then concerning the stones that are in the building. The square and white stones, which agree exactly in their joints, are the apostles, and bishops, and doctors, and ministers, who through the mercy of God have come in, and governed, and taught, and ministered holily and modestly to the elect

of God, both that are fallen asleep, and which yet remain; and have always agreed with them, and have had peace within themselves and have heard each other. For which cause their joints exactly meet together in the building of the tower. They which are drawn out of the deep and put into the building, and whose joints agree with the other stones which are already built, are those which are already fallen asleep, and have suffered for the sake of the Lord's name. And what are the other stones, lady, that are brought from the earth; I would know what they are? She answered, they which lie upon the ground and are not polished, are those which God has approved, because they have walked in the law of the Lord,(*a*) and directed their ways in his commandments. They which are brought and put in the building of the tower, are the young in faith, and the faithful. And these are admonished by the angels to do well, because that iniquity is not found in them. But who are those whom they rejected, and laid beside the tower? They are such as have sinned, and are willing to repent; for which cause they are not cast far from the tower, because they will be useful for the building, if they shall repent. They therefore that are yet to repent, if they shall repent shall become strong in the faith; that is, if they repent now, whilst the tower is building. For if the building shall be finished there will then be no place for them to be put in, but they shall be rejected: for he only has this privilege, who shall now be put into the tower.

6. But would you know who they are that were cut out, and cast afar off from the tower? Lady, said I, I desire it. They are the children of iniquity, who believed only in hypocrisy, but departed not from their evil ways: for this cause they shall not be saved, because they are not of any use in the building by

(*a*) In Æquitatem Domini. Lat.

reason of their sins. Wherefore they are cut out, and cast afar off, because of the anger of the Lord, and because they have provoked him to anger against them. As for the great number of other stones which thou hast seen placed about the tower, but not put into the building; those which are rugged are they who have known the truth, but have not continued in it, nor been joined to the saints; and therefore are unprofitable. Those that have clefts in them, are they who keep up discord in their hearts against each other, and live not in peace; that are friendly when present with their brethren, but as soon as they are departed from one another, their wickedness still continues in their hearts: these are the clefts which are seen in those stones. Those that are maimed and short, are they who have believed indeed; but still are in great measure full of wickedness; for this cause are they maimed and not whole. But what are the white and round stones, lady, and which are not proper for the building of the tower? She answering said unto me; how long wilt thou continue foolish and without understanding; asking every thing and discerning nothing? They are such as have faith indeed, but have withal the riches of this present world. When therefore any troubles arise, for the sake of their riches and traffic, they deny the Lord. I answering, said unto her, when therefore will they be profitable to the Lord? when their riches shall be cut away, says she, in which they take delight, then they will be profitable unto the Lord for his building. For as a round stone, unless it be cut away, and cast somewhat off of its bulk, cannot be made square; so they who are rich in this world, unless their riches be pared off, cannot be made profitable unto the Lord. Learn this from thy own experience: when thou wert rich, thou wast unprofitable; but now thou art profitable, and fit for the life which thou hast undertaken; for thou also once wast one of those stones.

7. As for the rest of the stones which thou sawest cast afar off from the tower, and running in the way; and tumbled out of the way into desert places; they are such as have believed indeed, but through their doubting have forsaken the true way, thinking that they could find a better. But they wander and are miserable, going into desolate ways. Then for those stones which fell into the fire, and were burnt; they are those who have for ever departed from the living God; nor doth it ever come into their hearts to repent, by reason of the affection which they bear to their lusts and wickednesses which they commit. And what are the rest which fell by the water, and could not roll into the water? they are such as have heard the word, and were willing to be baptized in the name of the Lord; but considering the great holiness which the truth requires, have withdrawn themselves, and walked again after their wicked lusts. Thus she finished the explication of the tower. But I being still urgent, asked her: is there repentance allowed to all those stones which are thus cast away, and were not suitable to the building of the tower; and shall they find place in this tower? They may repent, said she, but they cannot come into this tower; but they shall be placed in a much lower rank; and this after that they shall have been afflicted, and fulfilled the days of their sins. And for this cause they shall be removed, because they have received the word of righteousness: and then they shall be translated from their afflictions, if they shall have a true sense in their hearts of what they have done amiss. But if they shall not have this sense in their hearts, they shall not be saved, by reason of the hardness of their hearts.

8 When therefore I had done asking her concerning all these things, she said unto me: wilt thou see somewhat else? and being desirous of seeing it, I became very cheerful of countenance. She therefore looking back upon me, and smiling a little, said unto me: seest thou seven women about the tower? Lady

said I, I see them. This tower, replied she, is supported by them, according to the command of the Lord: hear therefore the effects of them. The first of them which holds fast with her hand, is called Faith; by her the elect shall be saved. The next which is girt up, and looks manly, is named Abstinence: she is the daughter of Faith. Whosoever therefore shall follow her, shall be happy in all his life; because he shall abstain from all evil works, believing that if he shall contain himself from all concupiscence, he shall be the heir of eternal life. And what, lady, said I, are the other five? They are, replied she, the daughters of one another. The first of them is called Simplicity; the next Innocence; the third Modesty; then Discipline, and the last of all is Charity. When therefore thou shalt have fulfilled the works of their mother, thou shalt be able to do all things. Lady, said I, I would know what particular virtue every one of these has. Hear then, replied she; they have equal virtues, and their virtues are knit together, and follow one another as they were born. From faith proceeds abstinence; from abstinence simplicity; from simplicity, innocence; from innocence, modesty; from modesty, discipline and charity. Therefore the works of these are holy and chaste, and right. Whosoever therefore shall serve these, and hold fast to their works, he shall have his dwelling in the tower with the saints of God. Then I asked her concerning the times, whether the end were now at hand? But she cried out with a loud voice, saying; O foolish man! dost thou not see the tower yet a building? When therefore the tower shall be finished, and built, it shall have an end; and indeed it shall soon be accomplished. But do not ask me any more questions. What has been said may suffice thee and all the saints; for the refreshment of your spirits. For these things have not been revealed to thee only, but that thou mayest make them manifest unto all. For therefore, O Hermas, after three

days thou must understand these words which I begin to speak unto thee, that thou mayest speak them in the ears of the Saints; that when they shall have heard and done them, they may be cleansed from their iniquities, and thou together with them.

9. Hear me therefore, O my sons! I have bred you up in much simplicity, and innocency, and modesty, for the mercy of God, which has dropped down upon you in righteousness; that you should be sanctified and justified from all sin and wickedness: But ye will not cease from your evil doings. Now therefore hearken unto me, and have peace one with another, and visit one another, and receive one another, and do not enjoy the creatures of God alone. Give freely to them that are in need. For some by too free feeding contract an infirmity in their flesh, and do injury to their bodies; whilst the flesh of others, who have not food, wither away, because they want sufficient nourishment, and their bodies are consumed. Wherefore this intemperance is hurtful to you, who have and do not communicate to them that want. Prepare for the judgment that is about to come upon you. Ye that are the more eminent search out them that are hungary, whilst the tower is yet unfinished; for when the tower shall be finished ye shall be willing to do good, and shall not find any place in it. Beware therefore, ye that glory in your riches, lest perhaps they groan who are in want, and their sighing come up unto God, and ye be shut out with your goods without the gate of the tower. Behold I now warn you who are set over the Church, and love the highest seats; be not ye like unto those* that work mischief; and indeed carry about their poison in boxes: but ye contain your poison and infection(z) in your hearts; and will not purge them, and mix your sense with a pure heart, that ye may find mercy with the great king. Take heed, my children, that

* Poisoners. (z) Medicaments.

your dissentions deprive you not of your lives. How will ye instruct the elect of God, when ye yourselves want correction? Wherefore admonish one another, and be at peace among yourselves; that I standing before your father, may give an account for you unto the Lord.

10. And when she had made an end of talking with me, the six young men that built, came and carried her to the tower; and four others took up the seat on which she sat, and they also went again to the tower. I saw not the faces of these, for their backs were towards me. As she was going away, I asked her that she would reveal to me what concerned the three forms in which she had appeared unto me. But she answering said unto me, concerning these things thou must ask some other, that they may be revealed unto thee. Now, brethren, in the first vision the last year, she appeared unto me exceeding old, and sitting in a chair. In another vision, she had indeed a youthful face, but her flesh and hair were old; and she talked with me standing, and was more cheerful than the first time. In the third vision, she was in all respects much younger, and comely to the eye; only she had the hair of an aged person; yet she looked cheerful, and sat upon a seat. I was therefore very sad concerning these things, until I might understand the vision. Wherefore I saw the same old woman in a vision of the night saying unto me: all prayer needeth humiliation; fast, therefore, and thou shalt learn from the Lord that which thou dost ask. I fastened therefore one day. The same night a young man appeared to me and said: why dost thou thus often desire revelations in thy prayers? take heed that by asking many things, thou hurt not thy body. Let these revelations suffice thee. Canst thou see more notable revelations than those which thou hast already received? I answered and said unto him: Sir, I only ask this one thing upon the account of the three figures of the old woman that appeared to me,

that the revelation may be complete. He answered me; you are not without understanding, but your doubts make you so; forasmuch as you have not your heart with the Lord. I replied and said, but we shall learn these things more carefully from you.

11. Hear then, says he, concerning the figures, about which you inquire. And first, in the first vision she appeared to thee in the shape of an old woman sitting in a chair; because your old spirit was decayed and without strength, by reason of your infirmities, and the doubtfulness of your heart. For as they who are old have no hope of renewing themselves, nor expect any thing but their departure: So you being weakened through your wordly affairs gave yourself up to sloth, and cast not away your solicitude from yourself upon the Lord; and your sense was confused and you grew old in your sadness. But sir, I would know why she sat upon a chair? He answered, because every one that is weak sitteth upon a chair, by reason of his infirmity, that his weakness may be upheld: behold therefore the figure of the first vision.

12. In the second vision you saw her standing, and having a youthful face, and more cheerful than her former; but her flesh and her hair were antient. Hear said he, this parable also. When any one grows old, he despairs of himself by reason of his infirmity and poverty; and expects nothing but the last day of his life. But on a sudden an inheritance is left to him; and he hears of it, and rises; and being become cheerful, he puts on new strength: and now he no longer sits down, but stands, and is delivered from his former sorrow; and sits not, but acts manfully. So you, having heard the revelation which God revealed unto you; because God had compassion upon you, and renewed your spirit; both laid aside your infirmities, and strength came to you, and you grew strong in the faith; and God seeing your strength rejoiced. For this cause he shewed you the building of the

tower, and will shew other things unto you, if you shall have peace with all your heart among each other.

13. But in the third vision you saw her yet younger, fair and cheerful, and of a serene countenance; for as if some good news comes to one that is sad, he straightway forgets his sadness, and regards nothing else but the good news which he has heard, and for the rest he is comforted, and his spirit is renewed through the joy which he has received: even so you have been refreshed in your spirit, by seeing these good things. And for that you saw her sitting upon a bench, it denotes a strong position; because a bench has four feet, and stands strongly. And even the world itself is upheld by the four elements. They therefore that repent perfectly, shall be young; and they that turn from their sins with their whole heart, shall be established. And now you have the revelation fully; ask no more to have any thing farther revealed unto you: but if any thing be to be revealed, it shall be made manifest unto you.

VISION IV.

OF THE TRIAL AND TRIBULATION THAT IS ABOUT TO COME UPON MEN.

1. I saw a vision, brethren, twenty days after the former vision; a representation of the tribulation that is at hand. I was walking in the field way; (now from the public way to the manor whither I went is about ten furlongs: it is a way very little frequented) and as I was walking alone, I entreated the Lord that he would confirm the revelation which he had shewed unto me by his holy church, and would grant

repentance to all his servants, who had been offended, that his great and honourable name might be glorified, and because he thought me worthy to whom he might shew his wonders, and that I might honour him, and give thanks unto him. And behold somewhat like a voice answered me; doubt not, Hermas. Wherefore I began to think, and say within myself, why should I doubt, seeing I am thus settled by the Lord, and have seen such glorious things? I had gone but a little farther, brethren, when behold I saw dust rise up to Heaven I began to say within myself, is there a drove of cattle coming, that rises such a dust? It was about a furlong off from me. And behold I saw the dust rise more and more, insomuch that I began to suspect that there was somewhat extraordinary in it. And the sun shone a little, and behold I saw a great beast, as it were a whale, and fiery locusts came out of his mouth. The heighth of the beast was about a hundred feet, and he had a head like a large earthen vessel. I began to weep and to pray unto the Lord, that he would deliver me from it. Then I called to my mind the word which I heard; doubt not. Hermas. Wherefore, brethren, putting on a divine faith, and remembering who it was that had taught me great things, I delivered myself boldly unto the beast. Now the beast came on in such a manner, as if it could at once have devoured a city. I came unto it; and the beast extended its whole bulk upon the ground, and put forth nothing but its tongue, nor once moved itself till I had quite passed by it. Now the beast had upon its head four colours, first black, then a red and bloody colour, then a golden, and then a white,

2. After that I had passed by it, and was gone forward about thirty feet, behold there met me a certain virgin well adorned, as if she had been just come out of her bride chamber, all in white, having on white shoes, and a veil down her face, and covered with shining hair. Now I knew by my former visions that

it was the church, and thereupon grew the more cheerful. She saluted me saying, hail O man! I returned the salutation, saying, lady, hail! She answering, said unto me, did nothing meet you, O man! I replied, lady, there met me such a beast as seemed able to devour a whole people; but by the power of God, and through his singular mercy, I escaped it. Thou didst escape it well, said she; because thou didst cast thy whole care upon God, and openedst thy heart unto him, believing that thou couldst be safe by no other, than by his great and honourable name. For this cause the Lord sent his angel, who is over the beasts, whose name is Hegrin, and stopped his mouth, that he should not devour thee. Thou hast escaped a great trial through thy faith, and because thou didst not doubt for such a terrible beast. Go therefore and relate to the elect of God, the great things that he hath done for thee. And thou shalt say unto them, that this beast is the figure of the trial that is about to come. If therefore ye shall have prepared yourselves, ye may escape it, if your heart be pure and without spot; and if ye shall serve God all the rest of your days without complaint. Cast all your cares upon the Lord, and he will direct them. Believe in God, ye doubtful, because he can do all things; he can both turn away his wrath from you, and send you health and security. Woe to the doubtful, to those who shall hear these words, and shall despise them: It had been better for them that they had not been born.

3. Then I asked her concerning the four colours which the beast had upon its head. But she answered me, saying, again thou art curious in that thou askest concerning these things. And I said unto her, lady, shew me what they are? hear, said she: the black which thou sawest, denotes the world in which you dwell. The fiery and bloody colour, signifies, that this age must be destroyed by fire and blood.—The golden part are ye, who have escaped out of it;

for as gold is tried by the fire, and is made profitable, so are ye also in like manner tried who dwell among the men of this world; they therefore that shall endure to the end, and be proved by them shall be purged, and as gold by this trial is cleansed and loses its dross; so shall ye also cast away all sorrow and trouble, and be made pure for the building of the tower. But the white colour, denotes the time of the world which is to come, in which the elect of God shall dwell: because the elect of God shall be pure and without spot unto life eternal. Wherefore do not thou cease to speak these things in the ears of the saints.—Here ye have the figure of the great tribulation that is about to come; which, if you please, shall be nothing to you; keep therefore in mind the things which I have said unto you. When she had spoken thus much, she departed; but I saw not whither she went. But suddenly I heard a noise, and I turned back, being afraid; for I thought that the beast was coming toward me.

THE

COMMANDS OF ST. HERMAS.

BOOK II.

THE INTRODUCTION.

WHEN I had prayed at home, and was sat down upon the bed, a certain man came in to me with a reverend look, in the habit of a shepherd, cloathed with a white cloak, having his bag upon his back, and his staff in his hand, and saluted me. I returned his salutation, and immediately he sat down by me, and said unto me, I am sent by that venerable messenger, that I should dwell with thee all the remaining days of thy life. But I thought that he was come to try me, and said unto him, who are you? for I know unto whom I am committed. He said unto me, do you not know me? I answered, no. I am, said he, that shepherd to whose care you are delivered. Whilst he was yet speaking, his shape was changed; and when I knew it was he to whom I was committed, I was ashamed, and a sudden fear came upon me, and I was utterly overcome with sadness, because I had spoken so foolishly unto him. But he said unto me, be not ashamed, but receive strength in thy mind, through the commands which I am about to deliver unto thee. For, said he, I am sent to shew unto thee all those things again, which thou hast seen before; but especially such of them as may be of most use unto thee. And first of all write my commands and similitudes, the rest thou shalt so write as I shall shew

unto thee. But I therefore bid thee first of all write my commands and similitudes, that by often reading of them, thou mayest the more easily keep them in memory. Whereupon I wrote his commands and similitudes, as he bade me. Which things if when you have heard, ye shall observe to do them, and shall walk according to them, and exercise yourselves in them with a pure mind; ye shall receive from the Lord those things which he has promised unto you. But if having heard them ye shall not repent, but shall still go on to add to your sins, ye shall be punished by him. All these things that Shepherd, the angel of repentance, commanded me to write.

COMMAND I.

OF BELIEVING IN ONE GOD.

FIRST of all believe that there is one God who created and framed all things of nothing into a being.(*e*) He comprehends all things, and is only immense, not to be comprehended by any. Who can neither be defined by any words, nor conceived by the mind. Therefore believe in him, and fear him, and fearing him abstain from all evil. Keep these things, and cast all lust and iniquity far from thee, and put on righteousness, and thou shalt live to God if thou shalt keep this commandment.(*f*)

(*e*) Irenæus Lib. 1. c. 3. Origen. de Princ. l. 1. c. 3. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. v. c. 8. Athanas. de Incarn. Verb. &c.

(*f*) Omnem Concupiscentiam & Nequitiam MSS. Lamb. & Oxon.

COMMAND II.

THAT WE MUST AVOID DETRACTION, AND DO OUR ALMS-DEEDS WITH SIMPLICITY.

HE said unto me, be innocent and without disguise ; so shalt thou be like an infant who knows no malice, which destroys the life of man Especially see that thou speak evil of none, nor willingly hear any one speak evil of any. For if thou observest not this, thou also who hearest shalt be partaker of the sin of him that speaketh evil by believing the slander, and thou also shalt have sin,(*i*) because thou believedst him that spake evil of thy brother. Detraction is a pernicious thing,(*k*) an inconstant evil spirit, that never continues in peace, but is always in discord. Wherefore refrain thyself from it, and keep peace evermore with thy brother.(*m*) Put on a holy constancy(*n*) in which there are no sins, but all is full of joy, and do good of thy labours. Give(*p*) without distinction to all that are in want, not doubting to whom thou givest. But give to all, for God will have us give to all, of all his own gifts. They therefore that receive, shall give an account to God, both wherefore they received, and for what end. And they that receive without a real need, shall give an account for it ; but he that gives shall be innocent, for he has fulfilled his duty as he received it from God ; not making any choice to whom he should give, and to whom not. And this service he did with simplicity, and to the glory of God. Keep therefore this command according as I have delivered it unto

(*i*) So the Gr. and Lamb MS. Particeps eris peccati male loquentis, credens : Et tu habebis Peccatum.

(*k*) Vid. Antioch. Hom xxix.

(*m*) The Greek hath ὁσιότης.

(*n*) Rather simplicity, according to the Greek reading, preserved by Athanasius

(*p*) Vid. Antioch. Hom. xcviii.

thee, that thy repentance may be found to be sincere, and that good may come to thy house, and have a pure heart.

COMMAND III.

OF AVOIDING LYING, AND THE REPENTANCE OF HERMAS FOR HIS DISSIMULATION.

MOREOVER he said unto me, love truth,(*t*) and let all the speech be true which proceeds out of thy mouth; that the spirit which the Lord hath given to dwell in thy flesh may be found true towards all men; and the Lord be glorified, who hath given such a spirit unto thee; because God is true in all his words, and in him there is no lie. They therefore that lie, deny the Lord, and become robbers of the Lord; not rendering to God what they received from him.(*w*) For they received the spirit free from lying: if therefore they make that a liar, they defile what was committed to them by the Lord, and become deceivers. When I heard this, I wept bitterly. And when he saw me weeping, he said unto me, why weepest thou? And I said, because sir, I doubt whether I can be saved? He asked me, wherefore? I replied, because sir, I never spake a true word in my life, but always lived in dissimulation, and affirmed a lie for truth to all men; and no man contradicted me, but all gave credit to my words. How then can I live, seeing I have done in this manner? And he said unto me, thou thinkest well and truly. For thou oughtest, as the servant of God, to have walked in the truth, and not have joined an evil conscience with the spirit

(*t*) Antioch. Hom. lxvi.
(*w*) Post, Book iii. Sim. ix. Chap. 32.

of truth; nor have grieved the holy and true spirit of God. And I replied unto him, sir, I never before hearkened so diligently to these things. He answered, now thou hearest them: take care from henceforth, that even those things which thou hast formerly spoken falsely for the sake of thy business, may, by thy present truth, receive credit.(x) For even those things may be credited, if for the time to come thou shalt speak the truth; and by so doing thou mayest attain unto life. And whosoever shall hearken unto his command, and do it, and shall depart from all lying, he shall live unto God.

COMMAND IV.

OF PUTTING AWAY ONES WIFE FOR ADULTERY.

1. Furthermore, said he, I command thee, that thou keep thyself chaste, and that thou suffer not any thought of any other marriage, or of fornication to enter into thy heart: for such a thought produces a great sin. But be thou at all times mindful of the Lord, and thou shalt never sin; for if such an evil thought should arise in thy heart, thou shouldst be guilty of a great sin; and they who do such things follow the way of death; look therefore to thy self, and keep thyself from such a thought; for where chastity remains in the heart of a righteous man there an evil thought ought never to arise. And I said unto him, sir, suffer me to speak a little to you. He bade me, say on. And I answered, sir, if a man shall have a wife that is faithful in the Lord, and shall catch her in

(x) Through these words. Lat. His. Verbis. & illa fidem recipiant.

adultery, doth a man sin that continues to live still with her? And he said unto me, as long as he is ignorant of her sin, he commits no fault in living with her: but if a man shall know his wife to have offended, and she shall not repent of her sin, but go on still in her fornication, and a man shall continue nevertheless to live with her, he shall become guilty of her sin, and partake with her in her adultery. And I said unto him, what therefore is to be done, if the woman continues in her sin? He answered, let her husband put her away, and let him continue by himself. But if he shall put away his wife, and marry another, he also doth commit adultery. And I said, what if the woman that is so put away shall repent, and be willing to return to her husband, shall she not be received by him? He said unto me, yes; and if her husband shall not receive her, he will sin, and commit a great offence against himself; but he ought to receive the offender, if she repents, only not often; for to the servants of God there is but one repentance. And for this cause a man that putteth away his wife ought not to take another, because she may repent.—This act is alike both in the man and in the woman. Now they commit adultery, not only who pollute their flesh, but who also make an image; if therefore a woman perseveres in any thing of this kind,(*b*) and repents not, depart from her, and live not with her; otherwise thou also shalt be partaker of her sin. But it is therefore commanded that both the man and the woman should remain unmarried, because such persons may repent. Nor do I in this administer any occasion for the doing of these things; but rather that whoso has offended, should not offend any more, but for their former sins; God who has the power of healing will give a remedy, for he has the power of all things.

(*b*) See 1 Cor. vii. 15.

2. I asked him again, and said, seeing the Lord hath thought me worthy that thou shouldst dwell with me continually, speak a few words unto me, because I understand nothing, and my heart is hardened through my former conversation, and open my understanding because I am very dull, and apprehend nothing at all. And he answering said unto me, I am the minister of repentance, and give understanding to all that repent.(*e*) Does it not seem to thee to be a very wise thing to repent? because he that does so, gets great understanding; for he is sensible that he hath sinned and done wickedly in the sight of the Lord, and he remembers within himself that he has offended, and repents and does no more wickedly, but does that which is good, and humbles his soul, and afflicts it, because he has offended. You see therefore that repentance is great wisdom. And I said unto him, for this cause, sir, I inquire diligently into all things, because I am a sinner, that I may know what I must do that I may live, because my sins are many. And he said unto me, thou shalt live if thou shalt keep these my commandments; and whosoever shall hear and do these commands, shall live unto God.

3. And I said unto him, I have even now heard from certain teachers that there is no other repentance besides that of baptism; when we go down into the water and receive the forgiveness of our sins, and that after that, we must sin no more, but live in purity. And he said unto me, thou hast been rightly informed; nevertheless seeing now thou inquirest diligently into all things, I will manifest this also unto thee; yet not so as to give any occasion of sinning either to those who shall hereafter believe, or to those who have already believed in the Lord; for neither they who have newly believed,(*i*) or who shall hereafter believe, have

(*e*) Ante, Chap. iii.

(*i*) MS. Lamb. Qui. modo crediderunt. Who have just now believed.

any repentance of sins, but forgiveness of them.—But as to those who have been called to the faith, and since that are fallen into any gross sin, and the Lord hath appointed repentance; because God knoweth the thoughts of all men's hearts, and their infirmities, and the manifold wickedness of the devil, who is always contriving something against the servants of God, and maliciously lays snares for them: therefore our merciful Lord had compassion towards his creature, and appointed that repentance, and gave unto me the power of it. And therefore I say unto thee, if any one after that great and holy calling shall be tempted by the devil and sin, he has one repentance.(*k*) But if he shall often sin and repent, it shall not profit such a one; for he shall hardly live unto God. And I said, sir, I am restored again to life since I have thus diligently hearkened to these commands; for I perceive, that if I shall not hereafter add any more to my sins, I shall be saved. And he said, thou shalt be saved, and so shall all others, as many as shall observe these commandments.

4. And again I said unto him, sir, seeing thou hearest me patiently, shew me yet one thing more. Tell me, saith he, what it is. And I said, if a husband or wife die, and the party which survives marry again does he sin in so doing? He that marries,(*l*) says he, sins not; howbeit if he remain single, he shall thereby gain to himself great honour before the Lord; keep therefore thy chastity and modesty, and thou shalt live unto God: observe from henceforth those things which I speak with thee, and command thee to observe, from the time that I have been delivered unto thee,(*m*) and dwell in thy house; so shall thy former sins be forgiven, if thou shalt keep these my command-

(*k*) Vid. Annot. Coteler. in loc. p. 60. 61.

(*l*) Vid. Not. Coteler. in loc. p. 64. B. C. Rom. vii. 3. comp. 1 Cor. vii.

(*m*) MS. Lamb. melius. Ex quo mihi traditus es: That thou hast been delivered unto me, and I dwell, &c.

ments. And in like manner shall all others be forgiven, who shall observe these my commandments.

COMMAND V.

OF THE SADNESS OF THE HEART; AND OF PATIENCE.

1. BE patient, says he, and long-suffering; so shalt thou have dominion over all wicked works, and shalt fulfil all righteousness. For if thou shalt be patient, the holy spirit which dwelleth in thee shall be pure, and not be darkened by any evil spirit; but being full of joy shall be enlarged, and feast in the body in which it dwells,(*p*) and serve the Lord with joy, and in great peace. But if any anger shall overtake thee, presently the holy spirit which is in thee, will be straightened, and seek to depart from thee. For he is choaked by the evil spirit; and has not the liberty of serving the Lord as he would, for he is grieved by anger. When therefore both these spirits dwell together, it is destructive to a man.(*t*) As if one should take a little wormwood, and put it into a vessel of honey, the whole honey would be corrupted; and a great quantity of honey is spoiled by a very little wormwood, and loses the sweetness of honey, and is no longer acceptable to its Lord; because the whole honey is made bitter, and loses its use. But if no wormwood be put into the honey, it is sweet and profitable to its Lord. Thus is forbearance sweeter than honey, and profitable to the Lord who dwelleth in it. But anger is unprofitable. If therefore anger shall be

(*p*) MS. Lamb. melius, Cum. Vase: Et Gr. with the body, or vessel.

(*t*) Both Athanasius and Antiochus add here these words, omitted in our copies: "for in forbearance [or long-suffering] the Lord dwelleth, but in bitterness the devil."

mixed with forbearance, the soul is distressed, and its prayer is not profitable with God. And I said unto him, sir, I would know the sinfulness of anger, that I may keep myself from it. And he said unto me, thou shalt know it; and if thou shalt not keep thyself from it, thou shalt lose thy hope with all thy house. Wherefore depart from it. For I the messenger of righteousness am with thee; and all that depart from it, as many as shall repent with all their hearts, shall live unto God; and I will be with them, and will keep them all. For all such as have repented, have been justified by the most Holy Messenger, who is a minister of salvation.

2. And now, says he, hear the wickedness of anger; how evil and hurtful it is, and how it overthrows the servants of God: for it cannot hurt those that are full of faith,(x) because the power of God is with them; but it overthrows the doubtful, and those that are destitute of faith. For as often as it sees such men, it casts itself into their hearts; and so a man or woman is in bitterness for nothing: for the things of life, or for sustenance, or for a vain word, if any should chance to fall in; or by reason of any friend, or for a debt; or for any other superfluous things of the like nature. For these things are foolish, and superfluous, and vain to the servants of God. But equanimity is strong, and forcible; and of great power, and sitteth in great enlargement; is cheerful, rejoicing in peace, and glorifying God at all times with meekness.(a) And this long-suffering dwells with those that are full of faith. But anger is foolish, and light, and empty. Now bitterness is bred through folly; by bitterness, anger; by anger, fury. And this fury arising from so many evil principles, worketh a great and uncurable sin. For when all these things

(x) Gr. Work upon. Et MS. Lamb facere.

(a) In the Greek of Athanasius and Antiochus, the sense is fuller, having nothing of bitterness in itself, and continuing always in meekness and quietness.

are in the same man, in which the holy spirit dwells, the vessel cannot contain them, but runs over; and because the spirit being tender cannot tarry with the evil one; it departs and dwells with him that is meek. When therefore it is departed from the man in whom it dwelt, that man becomes destitute of the holy spirit, and is afterwards filled with wicked spirits,(c) and is blinded with evil thoughts. Thus does it happen to all angry men. Wherefore depart thou from anger, and put on equanimity, and resist wrath; so shalt thou be found with modesty and chastity by God.(d) Take good heed therefore that thou neglect not this commandment. For if thou shalt obey this command, then shalt thou also be able to observe the other commandments which I shall command thee. Wherefore strengthen thyself now in these commands, that thou mayest live unto God. And whosoever shall observe these commandments shall live unto God.

COMMAND VI.

THAT EVERY MAN HAS TWO ANGELS,(e) AND OF THE SUGGESTIONS OF BOTH.

1. I COMMAND thee, said he, in my first commandment, that thou shouldest keep faith, and fear, and repentance.(f) Yes, sir, said I. He continued;

(c) In the Gr. of Athanasius follow these words, omitted in the Latin verse of Hermas; "and is unstable in all his doings, being drawn hither and thither by wicked men."

(d) In the Gr. of Athanasius it runs better thus, "applauded with reverence, by those who are beloved of God."

(e) Vid. Coteler. Annot in loc. pag. 67, 68. Comp. Edit. Oxon. p. 61. Not. a.

(f) Lat. Pœnitentiam. It should rather be Abstinentiam; as in the Gr. of Athanasius; as appears by the first commandment which is here referred to.

but now I will shew thee the virtues of these commands, that thou mayest know their effects; how they are prescribed alike to the just and unjust. Do thou therefore believe the righteous, but give no credit to the unrighteous. For righteousness keepeth the right way, but unrighteousness the wicked way. Do thou therefore keep the right way, and leave that which is evil. For the evil way has not a good end, but hath many stumbling blocks; it is rugged and full of thorns, and leads to destruction; and is hurtful to all such as walk in it. But they who go in the right way, walk with evenness, and without offence; because it is not rough nor thorny. Thou seest therefore, how it is best to walk in this way. Thou shalt therefore go, says he, and all others, as many as believe in God with all their heart, shall go through it.

2. And now, says he, understand first of all what belongs to faith.(*h*) There are two angels with man; one of righteousness, the other of iniquity. And I said unto him, sir, how shall I know that there are two such angels with man? Hear, says he, and understand. The Angel of righteousness is mild, and modest, and gentle, and quiet. When therefore he gets into thy heart, immediately he talks with thee of righteousness, of modesty, of chastity, of bountyfulness, of forgiveness, of charity, and piety. When all these things come into thy heart, know then that the angel of righteousness is with thee. Wherefore hearken to this angel and to his works. Learn also the works of the angel of iniquity. He is first of all bitter, and angry, and foolish; and his works are pernicious, and overthrow the servants of God. When therefore these things come into thy heart, thou shalt know by his works, that this is the angel of iniquity. And I said unto him, sir, how shall I understand these things? Hear, says he, and understand. When anger overtakes thee, or bitterness, know that he is in

(*h*) Vid. Antioch. Hom. lxi. Comp. Orig. L. iii. De Princip. Et. in Luc. Hom. xxxv.

thee: as also, when the desire of many things, and of the best meats, and of drunkenness; when the love of what belongs to others, pride and much speaking, and ambition, and the like things, come upon thee. When therefore these things arise in thy heart, know that the angel of iniquity is with thee. Seeing therefore thou knowest his works, depart from them all, and give no credit to him; because his works are evil, and become not the servants of God. Here therefore thou hast the works of both these angels. Understand now and believe the angel of righteousness, because his instruction is good. For let a man be never so happy, yet if the thoughts of the other angel rise in his heart, that man or woman must needs sin. But let a man or woman be never so wicked, if the works of the angel of righteousness come into his heart, that man or woman must needs do some good. Thou seest therefore how it is good to follow the angel of righteousness. If therefore thou shalt follow him, and submit to his works, thou shalt live unto God. And as many as shall submit to his works, shall live also unto God.

COMMAND VII.

THAT WE MUST FEAR GOD, BUT NOT THE DEVIL.

FEAR God, says he, and keep his commandments;(*l*) for if thou keepest his commandments thou shalt be powerful in every work, and all thy work shall be excellent;(*m*) for by fearing God, thou shalt do every thing well. This is that fear with which

(*l*) Vid. Antioch Hom. cxxvii Eccles. xii 13.
(*m*) Without Comparison, or without mixture.

thou must be affected that thou mayest be saved.—But fear not the devil; for if thou fearest the Lord, thou shalt have dominion over him; because there is no power in him: now if there be no power in him, then neither is he to be feared; but he in whom there is excellent power, is to be feared; but he that has no power is despised by every one. Fear the works of the devil, because they are evil: for by fearing the Lord, thou wilt fear and not do the works of the devil, but keep thyself from them. There is therefore a two-fold fear; if thou wilt not do evil, fear the Lord and thou shalt not do it. But if thou wilt do good, the fear of the Lord is strong, and great, and glorious.(*o*) Wherefore, fear God and thou shalt live: and whosoever shall fear him and keep his commandments, their life is with the Lord. But they who keep them not, neither is life in them.

COMMAND VIII.

THAT WE MUST FLEE FROM EVIL AND DO GOOD.

I HAVE told thee, said he, that there are two kinds of creatures of the Lord, and that there is a two-fold abstinence,(*p*) From some things therefore thou must abstain, and from others not. I answered, declare to me, sir, from what I must abstain, and from what not. Hearken, said he, keep thyself from evil, and do it not; but abstain not from doing good, but do it: for if thou shalt abstain from what is good, and not do it, thou shalt sin. Abstain therefore from all

(*o*) In the Gr. of Antiochus these words follow, which make the connexion more clear: "Fear also the Lord, and thou shalt be able to do it, for."

(*p*) Antioch. Hom. lxxix

evil, and thou shalt know all righteousness. I said, what evil things are they from which I must abstain? Hearken, said he, from adultery, from drunkenness, from riots, from excess of eating, from daintiness and dishonesty, from pride, from fraud, from lying, from detraction, from hypocrisy, from remembrance of injuries, and from all evil speaking; for these are the works of iniquity, from which the servants of God must abstain; for he that cannot keep himself from these things, cannot live unto God. But hear, said he, what follows of these kind of things: for indeed many more there are from which the servant of God must abstain: from theft and cheating, from false witness, from covetousness, from boasting, and all other things of the like nature. Do these things seem to thee to be evil or not? Indeed they are very evil to the servants of God. Wherefore the servants of God must abstain from all these works.(*r*) Keep thyself therefore from them, that thou mayest live unto God, and be written among those that abstain from them: and thus have I shewn thee what things thou must avoid. Now learn from what thou must not abstain: abstain not from any good works, but do them; hear, said he, what the virtue of those good works is which thou must do, that thou mayest be saved: the first of all is faith, the fear of the Lord, charity, concord, equity, truth, patience, chastity; there is nothing better than these things in the life of man; who shall keep and do these in their life.(*s*) Hear next what follow these: to minister to the widows, not to despise the fatherless and poor, to redeem the servants of God from necessity, to be hospitable (for in hospitality there is sometimes great fruit) not to be contentious, but be quiet, to be humble above all men, to

(*a*) Vid. Coteler. in loc.

(*s*) The sense here is defective, and may be thus restored from the Greek of Athanasius, "whosoever keeps these things, and doth not abstain from them, shall be happy in his life." And so the Lamb. MS. Hæc qui custodierit.

reverence the aged, to labour to be righteous, to respect brotherhood, to bear affronts, to be long suffering, not to cast away those that have fallen from the faith,(w) but to convert them and make them be of good cheer, to admonish sinners, not to oppress those that are our debtors, and all other things of a like kind. Do these things seem to thee to be good or not? And I said, what can be better than these words? Live then, said he, in these commandments, and do not depart from them; for if thou shalt keep all these commandments, thou shalt live unto God. And all they that shall keep these commandments shall live unto God.

COMMAND IX.

THAT WE MUST ASK OF GOD DAILY, AND WITHOUT DOUBTING.

AGAIN he said unto me, remove from thee all doubting,(y) and question nothing at all, when thou askest any thing of the Lord, saying within thyself, how shall I be able to ask any thing of the Lord and receive it, seeing I have so greatly sinned against him: Do not think thus, but turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, and ask of him without doubting, and thou shalt know the mercy of the Lord, how that he will not forsake thee, but will fulfil the request of thy soul; for God is not as men, mindful of the injuries he has received, but he forgets injuries and has compassion upon his creature. Wherefore purify thy

(w) Add from the Gr. of Athanasius and Antiochus; "not to remember injuries, to comfort those who labour in their minds."

(y) Vid. Antioch. Hom. lxxxii. Confer. Fragm. D. Grabe, Spicileg. tom. i. 303.

heart from all the vices of this present world, and observe the commands I have before delivered unto thee from God; and thou shalt receive whatsoever good things thou shalt ask, and nothing shall be wanting unto thee of all thy petitions, if thou shalt ask of the Lord without doubting. But they that are not such, shall obtain none of those things which they ask ;(z) for they that are full of faith, ask all things with confidence, and receive from the Lord, because they ask without doubting; but he that doubts, shall hardly live unto God, except he repent. Wherefore purify thy heart from doubting, and put on faith, and trust in God, and thou shalt receive all that thou shalt ask.—But and if thou shouldst chance to ask somewhat and not (immediately)(a) receive it, yet do not therefore doubt, because thou hast not presently received the petition of thy soul. For it may be thou shalt not presently receive it for thy trial, or else for some sin which thou knowest not; but do not thou leave off to ask, and then thou shalt receive ;(b) else if thou shalt cease to ask, thou must complain of thyself, and not of God, that he has not given unto thee what thou didst desire. Consider therefore this doubting how cruel and pernicious it is, and how it utterly roots out many from the faith, who are very faithful and firm; for this doubting is the daughter of the devil, and deals very wickedly with the servants of God; despise it therefore, and thou shalt rule over it on every occasion. Put on a firm and powerful faith; for faith promises all things, and perfects all things; but doubting will not believe, that it shall obtain any thing, by all that it can do. Thou seest therefore, says he, how faith cometh from above, from God, and has great

(z) Add from the Gr. both of Athanasius and Antioch. "But if thou doubtest in thy heart, thou shalt receive none of thy petitions. For those who distrust (or doubt of) God, are like the double minded, who shall obtain none of these things"

(a) So MS Lamb. Tardius accipias: and so the Gr.

(b) Asking the petition of thy soul.

power: but doubting is an earthly spirit, and proceedeth from the devil, and has no strength. Do thou therefore keep the virtue of faith, and depart from doubting, in which is no virtue, and thou shalt live unto God; and all shall live unto God, as many as shall do these things.

COMMAND X.

OF THE SADNESS OF THE HEART; AND THAT WE MUST TAKE HEED NOT TO GRIEVE THE SPIRIT OF GOD THAT IS IN US.

1. PUT all sadness far from thee, for it is the sister of doubting and of anger. How, sir, said I, is it the sister of these? for sadness, and anger, and doubting, seem to me to be very different from one another. And he answered, art thou without sense that thou dost not understand it? for sadness is the most mischievous of all spirits, and the worst to the servants of God; it destroys the spirits of all men,(*d*) and torments the holy spirit; and again it saves. Sir, said I, I am very foolish, and understand not these things; I cannot apprehend how it can torment, and yet save? Hear, said he, and understand: they who never sought out the truth, nor enquired concerning the majesty of God, but only believed, are involved in the affairs of the heathen. And there is another lying prophet,(*f*) that destroys the minds of the servants of God; that is those that are doubtful, not of those that fully trust in the Lord. Now those doubtful persons come to him, as to a divine spirit, and in-

(*d*) So the Lat. vers. but the Gr. of Athanasius is better: "and destroyeth man more than any other spirit."

(*f*) Vid. Edit. Oxon. p. 70. b. Comp. 2 Cor. xi. 10.

quire of him, what shall befall them: and this lying prophet having no power in him of the divine spirit, answers them according to their demands, and fills their souls with promises according as they desire.—Howbeit that prophet is vain, and answers vain things to those who are themselves vain; and whatsoever is asked of him by vain men, he answers them vainly: nevertheless he speaketh some things truly, for the devil fills him with his spirit, that he may overthrow some of the righteous.

2. Whosoever therefore are strong in the faith of the Lord, and have put on the truth, they are not joined to such spirits, but depart from them: but they that are doubtful and often repenting, like the heathens, consult them, and heap up to themselves great sin, serving idols. As many therefore as are such, inquire of them upon every occasion, worship idols, and are foolish and void of the truth; for every spirit that is given from God needs not to be asked, but having the power of the divinity speaks all things of itself; because he comes from above, from the power of the spirit of God. But he that being asked speaks according to men's desires, and concerning many other affairs of this present world, understands not the things which relate unto God; for these spirits are darkened through such affairs, and corrupted, and broken. As good vines, if they are neglected, are oppressed with weeds and thorns, and at last killed by them; so are the men who believe such spirits; they fall into many actions and businesses, and are void of sense, and when they think of things pertaining unto God, they understand nothing at all: but if at any time they chance to hear any thing concerning the Lord, their thoughts are upon their business. But they that have the fear of the Lord, and search out the truth concerning God, having all their thoughts toward the Lord, apprehend whatsoever is said to them, and forthwith understand it, because they have the fear of the Lord in them: for where the spirit of

the Lord dwells, there is also much understanding added. Wherefore join thyself to the Lord, and thou shalt understand all things.

3. Learn now, O unwise man! How sadness troubleth the holy spirit, and how it saves. When a man that is doubtful is engaged in any affair, and does not accomplish it by reason of his doubting; this sadness enters into him and grieves the Holy Spirit, and makes him sad. Again, anger when it overtakes any man for any business, he is greatly moved; and then again sadness entereth into the heart of him,* who was moved with anger, and he is troubled for what he hath done, and repenteth, because he hath done amiss.—This sadness therefore seemeth to bring salvation, because he repenteth of his evil deed; but both the other things, namely, doubting and sadness, such as before was mentioned, vex the spirit: doubting because his work did not succeed; and sadness because he angered the Holy Spirit. Remove therefore sadness from thyself,(o) and afflict not the Holy Spirit which dwelleth in thee; lest he entreat God, and depart from thee;† for the spirit of the Lord which is

* In the Greek of Athanasius, follows, και ποιησε τι κακον. And he doth something which is ill. Which better agrees with what follows, "Because he hath done amiss." The text in this place being evidently corrupted, I have endeavoured to restore the true sense of it from the Greek of Athanasius, which is as follows. Πάλιν ἡ λύπη εἰσπορεύεται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ὀξυχολήσαντος, καὶ λυπεῖται ἐπὶ τῇ Πράξει αὐτοῦ τοῦ κ ἐπράξεν, καὶ μετανοεῖ· ὅτι πονηρὸν εἰργάσατο. Αὕτη οὖν ἡ λύπη οὐκεῖ σωτηρίαν ἔχειν ὅτι ὁ πονηρὸν πράξας μετανοήσεν. Ἀμφότεραι δὲ τῶν πράξεων λυποῦσι. &c.

(o) Antioch. Hom. xxv.

† When Hermas here saith of the Holy Spirit that he entreats God; and before, that he is vexed and grieved, to prevent any mistakes in a matter of such moment, the reader may please to observe, that he speaketh not of the Holy Ghost as he is the spirit of God, and the third person in the sacred trinity; but of the spirit given to christians, which dwelleth in their souls and bodies, being an emanation, or gift from the spirit of God; and though not an essential part of man, yet a perfecting part of a christian; which Hermas himself elsewhere declareth to be created in man, lib. iii. cap. v. § 6. But then that he thought this created spirit of regene-

given to dwell in the flesh, endureth no such sadness; wherefore clothe thyself with cheerfulness, which has always favour with the Lord, and thou shalt rejoice in it; for every cheerful man does well, and relishes those things that are good, and despises sadness. But the sad man does always wickedly: first, he doth wickedly, because he grieveth the Holy Spirit, which is given to man being of a cheerful nature. And again he does ill, because he prays with sadness unto the Lord, and maketh not first a thankful acknowledgment unto him of former mercies, and obtains not of God what he asks; for the prayer of a sad man has not efficacy to come up to the altar of God. And I said unto him, sir, why has not the prayer of a sad man virtue to come up to the altar of God? because, said he, that sadness remaineth in his heart. When therefore a man's prayer shall be accompanied with sadness, it will not suffer his requests to ascend pure to the altar of God; for as wine, when it is mingled with vinegar, has not the sweetness it had before; so sadness, being mixed with the Holy Spirit, suffers not a man's prayer to be the same that it would be otherwise. Wherefore cleanse thyself from sadness, which is evil, and thou shalt live unto God; and all others shall live unto God, as many as shall lay aside sadness, and put on cheerfulness.

rate persons to be distinct from, though a participation of, the spirit of God, is plain from what we before read in the second section of this very command, where he distinguisheth between the spirit given from God, and the spirit of God. Every spirit, says he, that is given from God, having the power of the divinity, speaketh all things of itself, because he cometh from above, from the power of the spirit of God. And indeed St. Paul himself in that remarkable place 1 Cor. ii 11. 12. mentioneth distinctly πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, and and πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ; and plainly teaches that this in God, and the other in men, although from God. Now when Hermas here speaketh of the spirits entreating God, he expressly speaketh of the spirit which dwelleth in us, and the spirit which is given to dwell in the flesh; not of the spirit as he is in God, and consequently uncreated, and God himself: for all that is in God is such.

COMMAND XI.

THAT THE SPIRITS AND PROPHETS ARE TO BE TRIED BY THEIR WORKS; AND OF A TWO-FOLD SPIRIT.

1. HE shewed me certain men sitting upon benches, and one sitting in a chair: and he said unto me, seest thou those who sit upon the benches? Sir, said I, I see them. He answered, they are the faithful; and he who sits in the chair, is an earthly spirit. For he cometh not into the assembly of the faithful, but avoids it. But he joins himself to the doubtful and empty; and prophesies to them in corners and hidden places; and pleases them by speaking according to all the desires of their hearts. For he, placing himself among empty vessels, is not broken, but the one fitteth the other. But when he cometh into the company of just men, who are full of the spirit of God, and they pray unto the Lord; that man is emptied, because that earthly spirit flies from him, and he is dumb, and cannot speak any thing. As if in a storehouse you shall stop up wine or oil, and among those vessels shall place an empty jar, and shall afterwards come to open it, you shall find it empty as you stopped it up; so those empty prophets, when they come among the spirits of the just, are found to be such as they came.*

* It is evident from the method of Hermas's discourse in this place, that somewhat is wanting to make up the subject of it. He had spoken before of the false prophets, and the emptiness of their preaching but nothing of the true ones, nor any thing of the life and works of either. How to supply this I have been admonished by my learned friend Dr. Grabe. What should have followed here, is transposed into the next command; and being brought back hither, not only supplies the defect of this, but makes way for the more easy connexion of his discourse in that. And for this, besides the plain reason of the thing itself, we have the authority of Athanasius in that other command; who leaves out what has been falsely inserted there; as I shall shew when I come to it, from his own words. For both these reasons I have reduced both places to what I take to have been their true order; and shall submit it to the reader (to judge upon this advertisement) whether I had not good reason, as well as sufficient authority, so to do.

2. I said, how then shall a man be able to discern them? consider what I am going to say concerning both kinds of men; and as I speak unto thee, so shalt thou prove the prophet of God, and the false prophet. And first try the man who hath the spirit of God; because the spirit which is from above is humble, and quiet, and departs from all wickedness, and from the vain desires of the present world; and makes himself more humble than all men; and answers to none when he is asked; nor to every one singly; for the spirit of God doth not speak to a man when he will, but when God pleases. When therefore a man who hath the spirit of God shall come into the Church of the righteous, who have the faith of God, and they pray unto the Lord; then the holy angel of God fills that man with the blessed spirit, and he speaks in the congregation as he is moved of God. Thus therefore is the spirit of God known, because whosoever speaketh by the spirit of God, speaketh as the Lord will.

3. Hear now concerning the earthly spirit, which is empty and foolish, and without virtue. And first of all the man who is supposed to have the spirit, (whereas he hath it not in reality,) exalteth himself, and desires to have the first seat, and is wicked, and full of words; and spends his time in pleasure, and in all manner of voluptuousness; and receives the reward of his divination; which if he receives not, he does not divine. Should the spirit of God receive reward and divine? It doth not become a prophet of God so to do. Thus you see the life of each of these kind of prophets. Wherefore prove that man by his life and works, who says that he hath the Holy Spirit. And believe the spirit which comes from God, and has power as such. But believe not the earthly and empty spirit, which is from the devil, in whom there is no faith nor virtue. Hear now the similitude which I am about to speak unto thee. Take a stone and throw it up towards heaven, or take a spout of water, and mount it up thitherward, and see

if thou canst reach unto heaven. Sir, said I, how can this be done? for neither of those things which you have mentioned, are possible to be done. And he answered, therefore as these things cannot be done, so is the earthly spirit without virtue, and without effect. Understand yet farther the power which cometh from above, in this similitude. The grains of hail that drop down are exceeding small; and yet when they fall upon the head of a man, how do they cause pain to it? And again; consider the droppings of a house; how the little drops falling upon the earth, work a hollow in the stones. So in like manner the least things which come from above, and fall upon the earth, have great force. Wherefore join thyself to this spirit, which has power; and depart from the other which is empty.

COMMAND XII.

OF A TWO-FOLD DESIRE: THAT THE COMMANDS OF GOD ARE NOT IMPOSSIBLE: AND THAT THE DEVIL IS NOT TO BE FEARED BY THEM THAT BELIEVE.

1. AGAIN he said unto me, remove from thee all evil desires, and put on good and holy desires.(a) For having put on a good desire, thou shalt hate that which is evil, and bridle it as thou wilt. But an evil desire is dreadful and hard to be tamed. It is very horrible and wild; and by its wildness consumes men. And especially if a servant of God shall chance to fall into it, except he be very wise, he is ruined by it. For it destroys those who have not the garment of a good desire, and are engaged in the affairs of this present

(a) Vid. Antioch. Hom. lxxv.

world,(c) and deliver them unto death. * Sir, said I, what are the works of an evil desire, which bring men unto death? Shew them to me, that I may depart from them. Hear said he, by what works an evil desire bringeth the servants of God unto death. First of all, it is an evil desire to covet another man's wife; or for a woman to covet another's husband; as also to desire the dainties of riches, and multitude of superfluous meats; and drunkenness, and many delights. For in much delicacy there is folly; and many pleasures are needless to the servants of God. Such lusting therefore is evil and pernicious, which brings to death the servants of God. For all such lusting is from the devil. Whosoever therefore shall depart from all evil desires, shall live unto God; but they that are subject unto them shall die for ever. For this evil lusting is deadly. Do thou therefore put on the desire of righteousness, and being armed with the fear of the Lord, resist all wicked lusting. For this fear dwelleth in good desires; and when evil coveting shall see thee armed with the fear of the Lord, and resisting it; it will flee far from thee, and not appear before thee, but be afraid of thy armour; and thou shalt have the victory, and be crowned for it; and shalt attain unto that desire which is good; and shalt give the victory which thou hast obtained unto God, and shalt serve him in doing what thou thyself wouldest do. For if thou shalt serve good desires, and be subject to them; thou shalt be able to

(c) ἐμπεφιξόμενους τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. Gr. Athanas. Instead of implicat eos, the Latin verse should be implicatos.

* That the words here inserted, and removed by me into their proper place in the foregoing command, do not belong to this discourse, the Greek of Athanasius, clearly shews. In which they are all omitted, and the connexion lies as I have now restored it. Ποια. κύριε, εἰσὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς πονηρᾶς τὰ παραδιδοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς θάνατον; γνώρισόν μοι, ἵνα φύγω ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Ἄκουσον. Πρῶτον πάντων ἐπιθυμία γυναικὸς καὶ πολυτέλεια πλούτου, καὶ ἐδέσματα πολλὰ &c. And so the Lamb. MS. Primum Omnium concupiscere Uxorem alienam: Not. Spiritus Omnium.

get the dominion over thy wicked lustings ; and they shall be subject to thee as thou wilt.

3. And I said, sir, I would know how to serve that desire which is good? Hearken, said he, fear God, and put thy trust in him, and love truth and righteousness, and do that which is good. If thou shalt do these things, thou shalt be an approved servant of God, and shall serve him : and all others who shall in like manner serve a good desire shall live unto God. And when he had finished these twelve commands, he said unto me, thou hast now these commands, walk in them, and exhort those that hear them that they repent, and that they keep their repentance pure all the remaining days of their life : and fulfil diligently this ministry which I commit to thee, and thou shalt receive great advantage by it, and shalt find favour with all such as shall repent, and shall believe thy words ; for I am with thee, and will force them to believe. And I said unto him, sir, these commands are great and excellent, and able to cheer the heart of that man that shall be able to keep them. But, sir, I cannot tell, whether they can be observed by any man? He answered, thou shalt easily keep these commands, and they shall not be hard : howbeit, if thou shalt suffer it once to enter into thy heart that they cannot be kept by any one, thou shalt not fulfil them. But now I say unto thee, if thou shalt not observe these commands, but shalt neglect them, thou shalt not be saved, nor thy children, nor thy house, because thou hast judged that these commands cannot be kept by man.

4. These things he spake very angrily unto me, insomuch that he greatly affrighted me, for he changed his countenance, so that a man could not bear his anger : and when he saw me altogether troubled and confounded, he began to speak more moderately and cheerfully, saying, O foolish and without understanding! Unconstant, not knowing the majesty of God, how great and wonderful he is ; who created the

world for man, and hath made every creature subject unto him; and given him all power, that he should be able to fulfil all these commands. He is able, said he, to fulfil all these commands, who has the Lord in his heart: but they who have the Lord only in their mouths, and their heart is hardened, and they are far from the Lord; to such persons these commands are hard and difficult. Put therefore, ye that are empty and light in the faith, the Lord your God in your hearts, and ye shall perceive how that nothing is more easy than these commands, nor more pleasant, nor more gentle and holy; and turn yourselves to the Lord your God, and forsake the devil and his pleasures, because they are evil, and bitter, and impure; and fear not the devil, because he has no power over you; for I am with you, the messenger of repentance, who have dominion over him. The devil does indeed affright men, but his terror is vain; wherefore fear him not, and he will flee from you.

5. And I said unto him, sir, hear me speak a few words unto you. He answered, say on: A man indeed desires to keep the commandments of God, and there is no one but what prays unto God, that he may be able to keep his commandments: but the devil is hard, and by his power rules over the servants of God. And he said, he cannot rule over the servants of God, who trust in him with all their hearts; the devil may strive, but he cannot overcome them; for if ye resist him, he will flee away with confusion from you; but they that are not full in the faith, fear the devil, as if he had some great power; for the devil tries the servants of God, and if he finds them empty, he destroys them: for as a man when he fills up vessels with good wine, and among them puts a few vessels half full,(*g*) and comes to try and taste of the vessels, does not try those that are full, because he knows that they are good, but tastes those that

(*g*) Origen. in Matth. xxiv. 42

are half full, least they should grow sour (for vessels half full soon grow sour, and lose the taste of wine) so the devil comes to the servants of God to try them; they that are full of faith resist him stoutly, and he departs from them, because he finds no place where to enter into them; then he goes to those that are not full of faith, and because he has a place of entrance, he goes into them, and does what he will with them, and they become his servants.

6. But I, the messenger of repentance, say unto you, fear not the devil: for I am sent unto you, that I may be with you, as many as shall repent with your whole hearts, and that I may confirm you in the faith. Believe therefore ye who by reason of your transgressions(*i*) have forgot God and your own salvation,(*k*) and adding to your sins have made your life very heavy;(*l*) that if ye shall turn to the Lord with your whole hearts, and shall serve him according to his will, he will heal you of your former sins, and ye shall have dominion over all the works of the devil; be not then afraid in the least of his threatenings, for they are without force, as the nerves of a dead man; but hearken unto me, and fear the Lord Almighty, who is able to save and to destroy you; and keep his commands, that ye may live unto God. And I said unto him, sir, I am now confirmed in all the commands of the Lord whilst that you are with me, and I know that you will break all the power of the devil; and we also shall overcome him if we shall be able through the help of the Lord, to keep these commands which you have delivered. Thou shalt keep them, said he, if thou shalt purify thy heart towards the Lord: and all they also shall keep them who shall cleanse their hearts from the vain desires of the present world, and shall live unto God.

(*i*) Vid. Antioch. Hom. lxxvii.

(*k*) MS. Lamb Qui obliti estis Deum, and salutem vestram.

(*l*) What follows should be corrected thus: Et qui adjicientes peccatis vestris gravatis vitam vestram.

THE

SIMILITUDES OF ST. HERMAS.

BOOK III.

SIMILITUDE I.

THAT SEEING WE HAVE NO ABIDING CITY IN THIS WORLD, WE OUGHT TO LOOK AFTER THAT WHICH IS TO COME.

AND he said unto me, ye know that ye who are the servants of the Lord, live here as in a pilgrimage, for your city is far off from this city.(*a*) If therefore ye know your city in which ye are to dwell, why do ye here buy estates, and provide yourselves with delicacies, and stately buildings, and superfluous houses? for he that provides himself these things in this city, does not think of returning into his own city. O foolish, and doubtful, and wretched man! who understandest not that all these things belong to other men, and are under the power of another! For the Lord of this city saith unto thee, either obey my laws or depart out of my city: what therefore shalt thou do who art subject to a law in thine own city? Canst thou for thy estate, or for any of those things which thou hast provided, deny thy law? But if thou shalt deny it, and wilt afterwards return into thy own city

(*a*) Antioch. Hom. xv.

thou shalt not be received, but shalt be excluded thence. See therefore that like a man in another country, thou procure no more to thyself than what is necessary, and sufficient for thee; and be ready, that when the God or Lord of this city shall drive thee out of it, thou mayest oppose his law, and go into thine own city, where thou mayest with all cheerfulness live according to thine own law without wrong. Take heed therefore ye that serve God, and have him in your hearts; work ye the works of God, being mindful both of his commands and of his promises, which he has promised; and be assured that he will make them good unto you, if ye shall keep his commandments. Instead therefore of the possessions that ye would otherwise purchase, redeem those that are in want from their necessities, as every one is able; justify the widows, judge the cause of the fatherless, and spend your riches and your wealth in such works as these; for, for this end has God enriched you, that ye might fulfil these kind of services. It is much better to do this than to buy lands or houses, because all such things shall perish with this present time. But what ye shall do for the name of the Lord, ye shall find in your city, and shall have joy without sadness or fear. Wherefore covet not the riches of the heathen, for they are destructive to the servants of God; but trade with your own riches which you possess, by which ye may attain unto everlasting joy.(c) And do not commit adultery, nor touch any other man's wife, nor desire her, but covet that which is thy own business, and thou shalt be saved.

(c) MS. Lambeth. "Proprias autem quas habetis agite."

SIMILITUDE II.

AS THE VINE IS SUPPORTED BY THE ELM, SO IS THE RICH MAN HELPED BY THE PRAYERS OF THE POOR.

AS I was walking into the field, and considered the elm and the vine, and thought with myself of their fruits, an angel appeared unto me, and said unto me, what is it that thou thinkest upon thus long within thyself? And I said unto him, sir, I think of this vine, and this elm, because their fruits are fair. And he said unto me, these two trees are set for a pattern to the servants of God.(*d*) And I said unto him, sir, I would know in what the pattern of these two trees which thou mentionest does consist. Hearken, saith he, seest thou this vine and this elm? Sir, said I, I see them. This vine, saith he, is fruitful, but the elm is a tree without fruit. Nevertheless, this vine unless it were set by this elm, and supported by it, would not bear much fruit, but lying along upon the ground, would bear but ill fruit, because it did not hang upon the elm; whereas, now being supported upon the elm it bears fruit both for itself and for that. See therefore how the elm gives no less, but rather more fruit, than the vine. How, sir, said I, does it bear more fruit than the vine? Because, said he, the vine being supported upon the elm gives both much and good fruit; whereas if it lay along upon the ground it would bear but little, and that very ill too: this similitude therefore is set forth to the servants of God; and it represents the rich and poor man. I answered, sir, make this manifest unto me. Hear, said he, the rich man has wealth; howbeit towards the Lord he is poor, for he is taken up about his riches, and prays but little to the Lord, and the prayers which he makes are lazy and without force. When therefore the rich man

(*d*) Vid. Origen. in Jos. Hom. x.

reaches out to the poor those things which he wants, the poor man prays unto the Lord for the rich, and God grants unto the rich man all good things, because the poor man is rich in prayer, and his requests have great power with the Lord. Then the rich man ministers all things to the poor, because he perceives that he is heard by the Lord, and he the more willingly, and without doubting, affords him what he wants, and takes care that nothing be lacking to him; and the poor man gives thanks unto the Lord for the rich, because they do both their works from the Lord.—With men therefore the elm is not thought to give any fruit, and they know not, neither understand that its company being added to the vine, the vine bears a double increase, both for itself and for the elm. Even so the poor man praying unto the Lord for the rich, are heard by him; and their riches are increased, because they minister to the poor of their wealth; they are therefore both made partakers of each other's good works. Whosoever therefore shall do these things, he shall not be forsaken by the Lord, but shall be written in the book of life. Happy are they who are rich, and perceive themselves to be increased; for he that is sensible of this, will be able to minister somewhat to others.

SIMILITUDE III.

AS THE GREEN TREES IN THE WINTER CANNOT BE DISTINGUISHED FROM THE DRY; SO NEITHER CAN THE RIGHTEOUS FROM THE WICKED IN THIS PRESENT WORLD.

AGAIN he shewed me many trees whose leaves were shed, and which seemed to me to be withered,

for they were all alike. And he said unto me, seest thou these trees? I said, sir, I see that they look like dry trees. He answering, said unto me, these trees are like unto the men who live in this present world. I replied, sir, why are they like unto dried trees? because, said he, neither the righteous nor unrighteous, are known from one another; but are all alike in this present world. For this world is as the winter to the righteous men, because they are not known, but dwell among sinners: as in the winter all the trees having lost their leaves, are like dry trees; nor can it be discerned which are dry, and which are green: so in this present world, neither the righteous nor wicked, are discerned from each other, but they are all alike.

SIMILITUDE IV.

AS IN SUMMER THE LIVING TREES ARE DISTINGUISHED FROM THE DRY BY THEIR FRUIT AND GREEN LEAVES, SO IN THE WORLD TO COME THE RIGHTEOUS SHALL BE DISTINGUISHED FROM THE UNRIGHTEOUS BY THEIR HAPPINESS.

AGAIN he shewed me many other trees, of which some had leaves, and others appeared dry and withered. And he said unto me, seest thou these trees? I answered, sir, I see them; and some are dry, and others full of leaves. These trees, saith he, which are green, are the righteous, who shall possess the world to come. For the world to come, is the summer to the righteous; but to sinners it is winter. When therefore the mercy of the Lord shall shine forth, then they who serve God shall be made manifest, and plain unto all. For as in the summer the fruit of every tree is shewn and made manifest, so

also the works of the righteous shall be declared and made manifest, and they shall all be restored in that world merry and joyful. For the other kind of men, namely, the wicked, like the trees which thou sawest dry, shall as such be found dry and without fruit in that other world, and like dry wood, shall be burnt, and it shall be made manifest that they have done evil all the time of their life; and they shall be burnt because they have sinned and have not repented of their sins. And also all the other nations shall be burnt, because they have not acknowledged God their creator. Do thou therefore bring forth good fruit, that in the summer thy fruit may be known; and keep thyself from much business, and thou shalt not offend. For they who are involved in much business, sin much; because they are taken up with their affairs, and serve not God. And how can a man that does not serve God, ask any thing of God, and receive it? But they who serve him, ask and receive what they desire But if a man has only one thing to follow, he may serve God, because his mind is not taken off from God, but he serves him with a pure mind. If therefore thou shalt do this, thou mayest have fruit in the world to come; and all, as many as shall do in like manner, shall bring forth fruit.

SIMILITUDE V.

OF A TRUE FAST, AND THE REWARDS OF IT: ALSO OF THE CLEANNESS OF THE BODY.

1. AS I was fasting, and sitting down in a certain mountain, and giving thanks unto God for all the things that he has done unto me; behold I saw the shepherd, who was wont to converse with me, sitting by me, and saying unto me; what has brought thee

hither thus early in the morning? I answered, sir, to day I keep a station.(*i*) He answered, what is a station? I replied, it is a fast He said, what is that fast? I answered, I fast, as I have been wont to do. Ye know not said he, what it is to fast unto God; nor is this a fast which ye fast, profiting nothing with God. Sir, said I, what makes you speak thus? He replied, I speak it, because this is not the true fast which you think that you fast; but I will shew you what that is which is a complete fast.(*k*) and acceptable unto God. Hearken, said he, the Lord does not desire such a needless fast: for by fasting in this manner, thou advancest nothing in righteousness. But the true fast is this: do nothing wickedly in thy life, but serve God with a pure mind; and keep his commandments, and walk according to his precepts, nor suffer any wicked desire to enter into thy mind. But trust in the Lord, that if thou dost these things, and fearest him, and abstainest from every evil work, thou shalt live unto God. If thou shalt do this, thou shalt perfect a great fast, and an acceptable one unto the Lord.

2. Hearken unto the similitude which I am about to propose unto thee, as to this matter. A certain man having a farm, and many servants, planted a vineyard in a certain part of his estate for his posterity: and taking a journey into a far country, chose one of his servants which he thought the most faithful and approved, and delivered the vineyard into his care; commanding him that he should stake up his vines. Which if he did, and fulfilled his command, he promised to give him his liberty. Nor did he command him to do any thing more; and so went into a far country. After then that servant had taken that charge upon him, he did whatsoever his Lord commanded him. And when he had staked the vineyard, and found it to be full of weeds, he began to think

(*i*) Vid. Not. Coteler. in loc. pag. 72. 73
(*k*) Coteler. ibid.

with himself, saying, I have done what my lord commanded me; I will now dig this vineyard, and when it is digged, it will be more beautiful; and the weeds being pulled up, it will bring forth more fruit, and not be choaked by the weeds. So setting about his work he digged it, and plucked up all the weeds that were in it; and so the vineyard became very beautiful and prosperous, not being choaked with weeds. After some time the lord of the vineyard comes and goes into the vineyard, and when he saw that it was handsomely staked, and digged, and the weeds plucked up that were in it and the vines flourishing, he rejoiced greatly at the care of his servant. And calling his son whom he loved, and who was to be his heir, and his friends with whom he was wont to consult; he tells them what he had commanded his servant to do, and what his servant had done more: and they immediately congratulated that servant, that he had received so full a testimony from his lord. Then he said unto them, I indeed promised this servant his liberty, if he observed the command which I gave him; and he observed it, and besides has done a good work to my vineyard, which has exceedingly pleased me. Wherefore for this work which he hath done, I will make him my heir together with my son; because that when he saw what was good, he neglected it not, but did it. This design of the lord both his son and his friends approved, namely, that this servant should be heir together with his son. Not long after this, the master of the family calling together his friends, sent from his supper several kinds of food to that servant. Which when he had received, he took so much of them as was sufficient for himself, and divided the rest among his fellow servants. Which when they had received, they rejoiced; and wished that he might find yet greater favour with his lord, for what he had done to them. When his lord heard all these things, he was again filled with great joy; and calling again his friends and his son together, he related

to them what his servant had done with the meats which he had sent unto him. They therefore so much the more assented to the master of the household, that he ought to make that servant his heir together with his son.

3. I said unto him, sir, I know not these similitudes, neither can I understand them, unless you expound them unto me. I will, says he, expound all things unto thee whatsoever I have talked with thee, or shewn unto thee. Keep the commandments of the Lord, and thou shalt be approved, and shalt be written in the number of those that keep his commandments. But if besides those things which the Lord hath commanded, thou shalt add some good thing; thou shalt purchase to thyself a greater dignity, and be in more favour with the Lord than thou shouldest otherwise have been. If therefore thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord, and shalt add to them these stations, thou shalt rejoice; but especially if thou shalt keep them according to my commands. I said unto him, sir, whatsoever thou shalt command me, I will observe, for I know that thou wilt be with me. I will, said he, be with thee, who hast taken up such a resolution; and I will be with all those who purpose in like manner. This fast, saith he, whilst thou dost also observe the commandments of the Lord, is exceeding good. Thus therefore shalt thou keep it. First of all, take heed to thyself, and keep thyself from every wicked act, and from every filthy word, and from every hurtful desire; and purify thy mind from all the vanity of this present world. If thou shalt observe these things, this fast shall be right. Thus therefore do. Having performed what is before written, that day on which thou fastest thou shalt taste nothing at all but bread and water;(o) and computing the quantity of food which thou art wont to eat upon other days,(p) thou shalt lay aside the expense which

(o) Vid. Not. Coteler. ii. p. 74. A. B. C.
(p) Vid. Antioch. Hom. vii.

thou shouldest have made that day, and give it unto the widow, the fatherless, and the poor. And thus thou shalt perfect the humiliation of thy soul, that he who receives of it may satisfy his soul, and his prayer come up to the Lord God for thee. If therefore thou shalt thus accomplish thy fast, as I command thee, thy sacrifice shall be acceptable unto the Lord, and thy fast shall be written in his book. This station, thus performed, is good and pleasing and acceptable unto the Lord. These things if thou shalt observe with thy children, and with all thy house, thou shalt be happy. And whosoever, when they hear these things, shall do them, they also shall be happy; and whatsoever they shall ask of the Lord, they shall receive it.

4. And I prayed him that he would expound unto me the similitude of the farm, and the Lord, and of the vineyard, and of the servant that had staked the vineyard, and of the weeds that were plucked out of the vineyard, and of his son and his friends which he took into counsel with him; for I understood that that was a similitude. He said unto me, thou art very bold in asking; for thou ought not to ask any thing, because if it be fitting to shew it unto thee, it shall be shewed unto thee. I answered him, sir, whatsoever thou shalt shew me, without explaining it unto me, I shall in vain see it; if I do not understand what it is; and if thou shalt propose any similitudes, and not expound them, I shall in vain hear them: he answered me again, saying, whosoever is the servant of God, and has the Lord in his heart, he desires understanding of him, and receives it; and he explains every similitude, and understands the words of the Lord which need an inquiry; but they that are lazy and slow to pray, doubt to seek from the Lord, although the Lord be of such an extraordinary goodness, that without ceasing he giveth all things to them that ask of him; thou therefore who art strengthened by that venerable messenger, and hast received such a powerful gift of prayer, see-

ing thou art not slothful, why dost thou not ask understanding of the Lord, and receive it? I said unto him, seeing I have thee present, it is necessary that I should seek it of thee, and ask thee, for thou shewest all things unto me, and speakest to me when thou art present; but if I should see or hear these things when thou wert not present, I would then ask the Lord that he would shew them unto me.

5. And he replied, I said a little before that thou wert subtle and bold, in that thou askest the meaning of these similitudes: but because thou still persistest, I will unfold to thee this parable which thou desirest, that thou mayest make it known unto all men. Hear therefore, said he, and understand; the farm before mentioned denotes the whole earth; the Lord of the farm is he who created and finished all things, and gave virtue unto them; his son is the Holy Spirit; the servant is the son of God; the vineyard is the people whom he saves; the stakes are the messengers which are set over them by the Lord, to support his people; the weeds that are plucked up out of the vineyard, are the sins which the servants of God had committed; the food which he sent him from his supper, are the commands which he gave to his people by his son; the friends whom he called to counsel with him, are the holy angels whom he first created; the absence of the master of the household, is the time that remains unto his coming. I said unto him, sir, all these things are very excellent, and wonderful, and good; but, continued I, could I or any other man besides, though never so wise, have understood these things? wherefore now, sir, tell me what I ask. He replied, ask me what thou wilt. Why, said I, is the son of God in this parable, put in the place of a servant?

6. Hearken, said he, the son of God is not put in the condition of a servant, but in great power and authority. I said unto him, how sir? I understand it not: because, said he, the son set his messengers over

those whom the father delivered unto him, to keep every one of them; but he himself laboured very much and suffered much, that he might blot out their offences; for no vineyard can be digged without much labour and pains. Wherefore having blotted out the sins of his people, he shewed to them the paths of life, giving them the law which he had received of the father. You see, said he, that he is the Lord of his people, having received all power from his father.—But why the Lord did take his son into counsel, about dividing the inheritance,* and the good angels, hear now: that Holy Spirit, which was created first of all he placed in the body in which God should dwell; namely, in a chosen body, as it seemed good to him.(s) This body therefore into which the Holy Spirit was brought, served that spirit, walking rightly and purely in modesty, nor ever defiled that spirit; seeing therefore the body at all times obeyed the Holy Spirit, and laboured rightly and chastely with him, nor faltered at any time; that body being wearied conversed indeed servily, but being mightily approved to God with the Holy Spirit, was accepted by him: for such a stout course pleased God, because he was not defiled in the earth, keeping the Holy Spirit. He called therefore to counsel his son and the good angels, that there might be some place of standing giving to this body which had served the Holy Spirit without blame, lest it should seem to have lost the reward of its service: for every pure body shall receive its reward, that is found without spot, in which the Holy Spirit has been appointed to dwell; and thus you have now the exposition of this parable also.

* This place which in all the editions of Hermas is wretchedly corrupted, by the collation of editions and MSS. is thus corrected, by our very learned Dr. Grabe. Quare autem Dominus in consilio adhibuerit, Filium de Hæreditate, honestosque nuncios, Audi. Spiritum sanctum, qui Creatus est omnium Primus, in Corpore, in quo habitaret Deus, collocavit; in delecto scil. Corpore quod ei videbatur.

(s) Viz. The created spirit of Christ, as man; not the Holy Ghost, the third person of the sacred trinity.

7. Sir, said I, I now understand your meaning, since I have heard this exposition. Hearken farther said he: keep this thy body clean and pure, that the spirit which shall dwell in it may bear witness unto it, and be judged to have been with thee. Also take heed that it be not instilled into thy mind that this body perishes, and thou abuse it to any lust. For if thou shalt defile thy body, thou shalt also at the same time defile the Holy Spirit, thou shalt not live. And I said, what if through ignorance this should have been already committed, before a man heard these words how can he attain unto salvation, who has thus defiled his body? He replied, as for men's former actions, which through ignorance they have committed, God only can afford a remedy unto them, for all power belongeth unto him But now guard thyself; and seeing God is almighty and merciful, he will grant a remedy to what thou hast formerly done amiss, if for the time to come thou shalt not defile thy body and spirit; for they are companions together, and the one cannot be defiled but the other will be so too. Keep therefore both of them pure, and thou shalt live unto God.

SIMILITUDE VI.

OF TWO SORTS OF VOLUPTUOUS MEN, AND OF THEIR DEATH DEFECTION, AND OF THE CONTINUANCE OF THEIR PAINS.

1. AS I was sitting at home, and praising God for all the things which I had seen; and was thinking concerning the commands, that they were exceeding good, and great, and honest, and pleasant; and such as were able to bring a man to salvation, I said thus

within myself; I shall be happy if I shall walk according to these commands, and whosoever shall walk in them shall live unto God. Whilst I was speaking on this wise within myself, I saw him whom I had before been wont to see, sitting by me; and he spake thus unto me, what doubtest thou concerning my commands which I have delivered unto thee? they are good, doubt not, but trust in the Lord and thou shalt walk in them. For I will give thee strength to fulfil them. These commands are profitable to those who shall repent of those sins which they have formerly committed, if for the time to come they shall not continue in them. Whosoever therefore ye be that repent, cast away from you the naughtiness of the present world, and put on all virtue and righteousness, and so shall ye be able to keep these commands, and not sin from henceforth any more. For if ye shall keep yourselves from sin for the time to come, ye shall cut off a great deal of your former sins. Walk in my commands, and ye shall live unto God: these things have I spoken unto you. And when he had said this, he added; let us go into the field, and I will shew thee shepherds of sheep. I replied, sir, let us go. And we came into a certain field, and there he shewed me a young shepherd, finely arrayed(*a*) with his garments of a purple colour. And he fed large flocks, and his sheep were full of pleasure, and in much delight and cheerfulness; and they skipping, ran here and there. And the shepherd took very great satisfaction in his flock; and the countenance of that shepherd was cheerful, running up and down among his flock.

2. Then the angel said unto me, seest thou this shepherd? I answered, sir, I see him. He said unto me, this is the messenger of delight and pleasure. He therefore corrupts the minds of the servants of God, and turns them from the truth, delighting them

(*a*) Vid. Annot. Coteler. in loc.

with many pleasures, and they perish. For they forget the commands of the living God, and live in luxury and in vain pleasures, and are corrupted by this evil angel, some of them even unto death, and others to a falling away. I replied, I understand not what you mean, by saying unto death, and to a falling away. Hear, says he, all those sheep which thou sawest exceeding joyful, are such as have for ever departed from God, and given themselves up to the lusts of this present time.(*b*) To these therefore there is no return, by repentance unto life; because that to their other sins they have added this, that they have blasphemed the name of the Lord. These kind of men are ordained unto death. But those sheep which thou sawest not leaping, but feeding in one place, are such as have indeed given themselves up to pleasures and delights, but have not spoken any thing wickedly against the Lord. These therefore are only fallen off from the truth, and so have yet hope laid up for them in repentance. For such a falling off hath some hope still left of a renewal; but they that are dead, are utterly gone for ever. Again we went a little farther forward, and he shewed me a great shepherd, who had as it were a rustic figure, clad with a white goat's skin, having his bag upon his shoulder, and in his hand a stick full of knots, and very hard, and a whip in his other hand; and his countenance was stern and sour; enough to affright a man; such was his look. He took from that young shepherd such sheep as lived in pleasures, but did not skip up and down, and drove them into a certain steep and craggy place, full of thorns and briars, insomuch that they could not get themselves free from them; but being entangled in them, fed upon thorns and briars, and were grievously tormented with his whipping. For he still drove them on, and afforded them not any place or time to stand still.

(*b*) In Gr. Athanas. ἐπιθυμίαις τῆ Αἰῶνι τούτῳ.

3. When therefore I saw them so cruelly whipped and afflicted, I was grieved for them, because they were greatly tormented, nor had they any rest afforded them. And I said unto the shepherd that was with me, sir, who is this cruel and implacable shepherd, who is moved with no compassion towards these sheep? He answered, this shepherd is indeed one of the holy angels,(c) but is appointed for the punishment of sinners. To him therefore are delivered those who have erred from God, and served the lusts and pleasures of this world. For this cause he punishes every one according to their deserts, with cruel and various kind of pains. Sir, said I, I would know what kind of pains they are which every one undergoes? Hearken, said he, the several pains and torments are those which men every day undergo in their present lives. For some suffer losses, others poverty, others divers sicknesses. Some are unsettled, others suffer injuries from those that are unworthy; others fall under many other trials and inconveniences. For many with an unsettled design aim at many things, and profiteth them not; and they say that they have not success in their undertakings. They do not call to their mind what they have done amiss, and they complain of the Lord. When therefore they shall have undergone all kind of vexation and inconvenience; then they are delivered over to me for good instruction, and are confirmed in the faith of the Lord, and serve the Lord all the rest of their days with a pure mind. And when they begin to repent of their sins, then they call to mind their works which they have done amiss, and give honour to God, saying, that he is a just judge, and they have deservedly suffered all things according to their deeds. Then for what remains of their lives, they serve God with a pure mind, and have success in all their undertakings, and receive from the Lord whatever they desire. And then they give thanks

(c) Vid. Origen. in Psal. xxxvii. Hom. 1.

unto the Lord that they were delivered unto me; nor do they suffer any more cruelty.

4. I said unto him, sir, I entreat you still to shew me now one thing. What said he dost thou ask? I said unto him, are they who depart from the fear of God, tormented for the same time that they enjoyed their false delight and pleasures? He answered me, they are tormented for the same time. And I said unto him, they are then tormented but little; whereas they who enjoy their pleasures so as to forget God, ought to endure seven times as much punishment. He answered me, thou art foolish, neither understandest thou the efficacy of this punishment. I said unto him, sir, if I understood it, I would not desire you to tell me. Hearken, said he, and learn what the force of both is, both of the pleasure and of the punishment. An hour of pleasure is terminated within its own space; but one hour of punishment has the efficacy of thirty days. Whosoever therefore enjoys his false pleasure for one day,(*g*) and is one day tormented; that one day of punishment is equivalent to a whole year's space. Thus look how many days any one pursues his pleasures, so many years is he punished for it. You see therefore, how that the time of worldly enjoyments is but short; but that of pain and torments a great deal more.

5. I replied, sir, forasmuch as I do not understand at all these times of pleasure and pain, I entreat you that you would explain yourself more clearly concerning them. He answered me, saying, thy foolishness still sticks unto thee. Shouldest thou not rather purify thy mind, and serve God? Take heed, lest when thy time is fulfilled, thou be found still unwise. Hear then, as thou desirest, that thou mayest the more easily understand. He that gives himself up one day to his pleasures and delights, and does whatsoever his soul desires, is full of great folly, nor

(*g*) Origen. in Num. Hom. viii.

understands what he does, but the day following forgets what he did the day before. For delight and worldly pleasure are not kept in memory, by reason of the folly that is rooted in them. But when pain and torment befal a man a day, he is in effect troubled the whole year after, because his punishment continues firm in his memory. Wherefore he remembers it with sorrow the whole year, and then calls to mind his vain pleasure and delight, and perceives that for the sake of that he was punished. Whosoever therefore have delivered themselves over to such pleasures, are thus punished; because that when they had life, they rendered themselves liable to death. I said unto him, sir, what pleasures are hurtful? He answered, that is pleasure to every man which he does willingly. For the angry man, gratifying his passion, perceives pleasure in it; and so the adulterer and drunkard; the slanderer and liar; the covetous man and the defrauder; and whosoever commits any thing like unto these, because he followeth his evil disposition, he receives a satisfaction in the doing of it. All these pleasures and delights are hurtful to the servants of God. For these therefore they are tormented and suffer punishment. There are also pleasures that bring salvation unto men. For many, when they do what is good, find pleasure in it, and are attracted by the delights of it. Now this pleasure is profitable to the servants of God, and brings life to such men: but those hurtful pleasures which were before mentioned, bring torments and punishment. And whosoever shall continue in them, and shall not repent of what they have done, shall bring death upon themselves.

SIMILITUDE VII.

THAT THEY WHO REPENT, MUST BRING FORTH FRUITS WORTHY OF REPENTANCE.

AFTER a few days I saw the same person that before talked with me, in the same field in which I had seen those shepherds. And he said unto me, what seekest thou? Sir, said I, I came to entreat you that you would command the shepherd, who is the minister of punishment, to depart out of my house, because he greatly afflicts me. And he answered, it is necessary for thee to endure inconveniences and vexations; for so that good angel hath commanded concerning thee, because he would try thee. Sir, said I, what so great offence have I committed, that I should be delivered to this messenger? Hearken, said he, thou art indeed guilty of many sins, yet not so many that thou shouldest be delivered to this messenger; but thy house hath committed many sins and offences, and therefore that good messenger being grieved at their doings commanded that for some time thou shouldest suffer affliction, that they may both repent of what they have done, and may wash themselves from all the lusts of this present world. When therefore they shall have repented and be purified, then that messenger which is appointed over thy punishment, shall depart from thee. I said unto him, sir, if they have behaved themselves so as to anger that good angel, yet what have I done? He answered, they cannot otherwise be afflicted, unless thou, who art the head of the family, suffer. For whatsoever thou shalt suffer, they must needs feel it: but as long as thou shalt stand well established, they cannot experience any vexation. I replied, but sir, behold they also now repent with all their hearts. I know, says he, that they repent with all their hearts; but dost thou therefore think that their offences who re-

pent, are immediately blotted out? No, they are not presently; but he that repents must afflict his soul, and shew himself humble in all his affairs, and undergo many and divers vexations. And when he shall have suffered all things that were appointed for him, then perhaps he that made him, and formed all things besides, will be moved with compassion towards him, and afford him some remedy; and especially if he shall perceive his heart, who repents, to be pure from every evil work. But at present it is expedient for thee, and for thy house, to be grieved; and it is needful that thou shouldest endure much vexation, as the angel of the Lord who committed thee unto me, has commanded. Rather give thanks unto the Lord, that knowing what was to come, he thought thee worthy to whom he should foretell that trouble was coming upon thee, who art able to bear it. I said unto him, sir, be but thou also with me, and I shall easily undergo any trouble. I will, said he, be with thee; and I will entreat the messenger who is set over thy punishment, that he would moderate his afflictions towards thee. And moreover thou shalt suffer adversity but for a little time; and then thou shalt again be restored to thy former state; only continue on in the humility of thy mind. Obey the Lord with a pure heart; thou and thy house, and thy children; and walk in the commands which I have delivered unto thee, and then thy repentance may be firm and pure. And if thou shalt keep these things with thy house, thy inconveniences shall depart from thee. And all vexation shall in like manner depart from all those, whosoever shall walk according to these commands.

SIMILITUDE VIII.

THAT THERE ARE MANY KINDS OF ELECT, AND OF REPENTING SINNERS: AND HOW ALL OF THEM SHALL RECEIVE A REWARD PROPORTIONABLE TO THE MEASURES OF THEIR REPENTANCE AND GOOD WORKS.

1. AGAIN he shewed me a willow which covered the fields and the mountains, under whose shadow came all such as were called by the name of the Lord. And by that willow stood an angel of the Lord very excellent and lofty, and did cut down boughs from that willow with a great hook, and reached out to the people that were under the shadow of that willow little rods, as it were about a foot long. And when all of them had taken them, he laid aside his hook, and the tree continued entire, as I had before seen it. At which I wondered, and mused within myself. Then that shepherd said unto me, forbear to wonder that that tree continues whole, notwithstanding so many boughs have been cut off from it; but stay a little, for now it shall be shewn thee what that angel means, who gave those rods to the people. So he again demanded the rods of them, and in the same order that every one had received them, was he called to him, and restored his rod; which when he had received, he examined them. From some he received them dry and rotten, and as it were, touched with the moth; those he commanded to be separated from the rest, and placed by themselves. Others gave him their rods dry indeed, but not touched with the moth; these also he ordered to be set by themselves. Others gave in their rods half dry; these also were set apart. Others gave in their rods half dry, and cleft; these too were set by themselves. Others brought in their

rods,(*b*) one half dry and the other green, and these were in like manner placed by themselves. Others delivered up their rods two parts green, and the third dry, and they two were set apart. Others brought their rods two parts dry, and the third green, and were also placed by themselves. Others delivered up their rods less dry, (for there was but a very little, to wit, their tops dry) but they had clefts, and these were set in like manner by themselves. In the rods of others there was but a little green, and the rest dry, and these were set aside by themselves. Others came and brought their rods green as they had received them, and the greatest part of the people brought their rods thus; and the messenger greatly rejoiced at these, and they also were put apart by themselves. Others brought their rods not only green, but full of branches; and these were set aside, being also received by the angel with great joy. Others brought their rods green with branches, and those also some fruit upon them. They who had such rods were very cheerful; and the angel himself took great joy at them; nor was the shepherd that stood with me, less pleased with them.

2. Then the angel of the Lord commanded crowns to be brought; and the crowns were brought made of palms; and the angel crowned those men in whose rods he found the young branches with fruit; and commanded them to go into the tower. He also sent those into the tower, in whose rods he found branches without fruit, giving a seal unto them. For they had the same garment, that is, one white as snow; with which he bade them go into the tower. And so he did to those who returned their rods green as they received them: giving them a white garment, and so sent them away to go into the tower. Having done

(*b*) By reason of the repeated words *others* and *cleft*, those have been omitted, *whose rods were green but cleft*, who are expressly mentioned, § v. and vii. and therefore must likewise have been named here.

this, he said to the shepherd that was with me, I go my way, but do thou send these within the walls, every one into the place in which he has deserved to dwell; examining first their rods, but examine them diligently that no one deceive thee. But and if any one shall escape thee, I will try them upon the altar. Having said this to the shepherd, he departed. After he was gone, the shepherd said unto me let us take the rods from them all and plant them; if perchance they may grow green again I said unto him, sir, how can those dry rods ever grow green again? He answered, that tree is a willow, and always loves to live. If therefore these rods shall be planted, and receive a little moisture, many of them will recover themselves. Wherefore I will try, and will pour water upon them, and if any of them can live, I will rejoice with him; but if not, at least by this means I shall be found not to have neglected my part. Then he commanded me to call them, and they all came unto him, every one in the rank in which he stood, and gave him their rods; which having received, he planted every one of them in their several orders. And after he had planted them all, he poured much water upon them, insomuch that they were covered with water, and did not appear above it. Then when he had watered them, he said unto me, let us depart, and after a little time we will return and visit them. For he who created this tree, would have all those live that received rods from it. And I hope, now that these rods are thus watered, many of them, receiving in the moisture, will recover.

3. I said unto him, sir, tell me what this tree denotes? for I am greatly astonished, that after so many branches have been cut off, it seems still to be whole; nor does there any thing the less of it appear to remain, which greatly amazes me. He answered, hearken. This great tree which covers the plains and the mountains, and all the earth, is the law of God, published throughout the whole world. Now

this law is the son of God (*d*) who is preached to all the ends of the earth. The people that stand under its shadow, are those which have heard his preaching, and believed. The great and venerable angel which you saw, was Michael, who has the power over this people, and governs them. For he has planted the law in the hearts of those who have believed; and therefore he visits them to whom he has given the law, to see if they have kept it. And he examines every one's rod; and of those, many that are weakened: for those rods are the law of the Lord. Then he discerns all those that have not kept the law, knowing the place of every one of them. I said unto him sir, why did he send away some to the tower, and left others here to you? He replied, those who have transgressed the law which they received from him, are left in my power, that they may repent of their sins; but they who fulfilled the law and kept it, are under his power. But who then, said I, are those who went into the tower crowned? He replied, all such as having striven with the devil, have overcome him, are crowned: and they are those who have suffered hard things, that they might keep the law. But they who gave up their rods green, and with young branches, but without fruit, have indeed endured trouble for the same law, but have not suffered death, neither have they denied their holy law. They who delivered up their rods green as they received them, are those who were modest and just, and have lived with a very pure mind, and kept the commandments of God. The rest thou shalt know, when I shall have considered those rods which I have planted and watered.

4. After a few days we returned, and in the same place stood that glorious angel, and I stood by him. Then he said unto me, gird thyself with a towel, and serve me.(*f*) And I girded myself with a clean towel, which was made of coarse cloth. And when he

(*d*) MS. Lamb. Hæc autem lex filius Dei est, prædicatus, &c.
(*f*) Sebano. Vid. Edit. Oxon. p. 129, not. d.

saw me girded and ready to minister unto him, he said, call those men whose rods have been planted, every one in his order as they gave them. And he brought me into the field, and I called them all, and they all stood ready in their several ranks. Then he said unto them, let every one pluck up his rod and bring it unto me. And first they delivered theirs whose rods had been dry and rotten. And those whose rods still continued so, he commanded to stand apart. Then they came whose rods had been dry but not rotten. Some of these delivered in their rods green, others dry and rotten, as if they had been touched by the moth. Those who gave them up green, he commanded to stand apart; but those whose rods were dry and rotten, he caused to stand with the first sort. Then came they whose rods had been half dry, and cleft; many of these gave up their rods green and uncleft. Others delivered them up green with branches, and fruit upon the branches, like unto theirs who went crowned into the tower. Others delivered them up dry, but not rotten; and some gave them as they were before, half dry and cleft. Every one of these he ordered to stand apart; some by themselves, others in their respective ranks.

5. Then came they whose rods had been green, but cleft. These delivered their rods altogether green, and stood in their own order. And the shepherd rejoiced at these, because they were all changed, and free from their clefts. Then they gave in their rods, who had them half green and half dry. Of these, some were found wholly green, others half dry; others green, with young shoots. And all these were sent away, every one to his proper rank. Then they gave up their rods, who had them before two parts green, and the third dry. Many of these gave in their rods green; many half dry; the rest dry, but not rotten. So these were sent away, each to his proper place. Then came they who had before their rods two parts dry and the third green; many of these

delivered up their rods half dry, others dry and rotten, others half dry and cleft; but few green. And all these were set every one in his own rank. Then they reached in their rods,(*g*) in which there was before but a little green, and the rest dry.(*h*) Their rods were for the most part found green, having little boughs, with fruit upon them; and the rest altogether green. And the shepherd upon sight of these rejoiced exceedingly, because he had found them thus: and they also went to their proper orders.

6. Now after he had examined all their rods, he said unto me, I told thee that this tree loved life: thou seest how many have repented and attained unto salvation. Sir, said I, I see it. That thou mightest know, saith he, that the goodness and mercy of the Lord is great, and to be had in honour; who gave his spirit to them that were found worthy of repentance. I answered, sir, why then did not all of them repent? He replied, those whose minds the Lord foresaw would be pure, and that they would serve him with all their hearts, to them he gave repentance. But for those whose deceit and wickedness he beheld, and perceived that they would not truly return unto him; to them he denied any return unto repentance, lest they should again blaspheme his law with wicked words. I said unto him, now sir, make known unto me, what is the place of every one of those who have given up their rods, and what their portion; that when they who have not kept their seal entire, but have wasted the seal which they received, shall hear and believe these things, they may acknowledge their evil deeds and repent; and receiving again their seal from you, may give glory to God that he was moved with compassion towards them, and sent you to renew their spirits. Hearken, said he, they whose rods have been

(*g*) Here again by the carelessness of the transcribers are left out those, whose rods were but for a small part dry, namely, on the top, but had clefts; which are mentioned before § 1. and again at the beginning of the 10th §.

(*h*) MS. Lamb. Minimum habuerant viride.

found dry and rotten, and as it were, touched with the moth, are the deserters and the betrayers of the Church; who, with the rest of their crimes, have also blasphemed the Lord, and denied his name which had been called upon them. Therefore all these are dead unto God, and thou seest that none of them have repented, although they have heard my commands which thou hast delivered unto them. From these men therefore life is far distant. They also who have delivered up their rods dry, but not rotten, have not been far from them. For they have been counterfeits, and brought in evil doctrines, and have perverted the servants of God; but especially those who had sinned; not suffering them to return unto repentance, but keeping them back by their false doctrines. These therefore have hope, and thou seest that many of them have repented since the time that thou hast laid my commands before them; and many more will yet repent. But they that shall not repent, shall lose both repentance and life. But they that have repented, their place is begun to be within the first walls, and some of them are even gone into the tower. Thou seest therefore, said he, that in the repentance of sinners there is life, but that for those who repent not, death is prepared.

7. Hear now concerning those who gave in their rods half dry, and full of clefts. They whose rods were only half dry, are the doubtful; for they are neither living nor dead. But they who delivered in their rods not only half dry, but also full of clefts, are both doubtful and evil speakers, who detract from those that are absent, and have never peace among themselves, and that envy one another. Howbeit to these also repentance is offered, for thou seest that some of these have repented. Now all those of this kind who have quickly repented, shall have a place in the tower; but they who have been more slow in their repentance, shall dwell within the walls: but they that shall not repent, but shall continue on in their

wicked doings, shall die the death. As for those who had their rods green, but yet cleft, they are such as were always faithful and good, but they had some envy and strife among themselves concerning dignity and preeminence. Now all such are vain and without understanding, as contend with one another about these things. Nevertheless, seeing they are otherwise good, if when they shall hear these commands they shall amend themselves, and shall at my persuasion suddenly repent, they shall at last dwell in the tower, as they who have truly and worthily repented. But if any one shall again return to his dissention, he shall be shut out from the tower, and shall lose his life. For the life of those who keep the commandments of the Lord, consists in doing what they are commanded; not in principality, or in any other dignity. For by forbearance and humility of mind, men shall attain unto life; but by seditions and contempt of the law, they shall purchase death unto themselves.

8. They who in their rods had one half dry, and the other green, are those who are engaged in many affairs of the world, and are not joined to the saints. For which cause half of them liveth, and half is dead. Wherefore many of these since the time that they have heard my commands, have repented, and begun to dwell in the tower. But some of them have wholly fallen away; to these there is no more place for repentance. For by reason of their present interests, they have blasphemed and denied God; and for this wickedness they have lost life. And of these many are still in doubt; these may yet return; and if they shall quickly repent, they shall have a place in the tower; but if they shall be more slow, they shall dwell within the walls; but if they shall not repent, they shall die. As for those who had two parts of their rods green, and the third dry, they have by manifold ways denied the Lord.(k) Of these many

(k) Lamb MS. quamplurimis generibus infidelitatis.

have repented, and found a place in the tower; and many have altogether departed from God. They have utterly lost life. And some being in a doubtful state, have raised up dissentions; these may yet return, if they shall suddenly repent, and not continue in their lust; but if they shall continue in their evil doing they shall die.

9. They who gave in their rods two parts dry, and the other green, are those who have indeed been faithful, but withal rich and full of good things; and thereupon have desired to be famous among the heathen which are without, and have thereby fallen into great pride, and begun to aim at high matters, and to forsake the truth: nor were they joined to the saints, but lived with the heathen; and this life seemed the more pleasant to them. Howbeit they have not departed from God, but continued in the faith; only they have not wrought the works of faith. Many therefore of these have repented, and begun to dwell in the tower. Yet others still living among the heathen people, and being lifted up with their vanities, have utterly fallen away from God, and followed the works and wickednesses of the heathen. These kind of men therefore are reckoned among the strangers to the gospel. Others of these began to be doubtful in their minds, despairing by reason of their wicked doings ever to attain unto salvation: others being thus made doubtful, did moreover stir up dissentions. To these therefore, and to those who by reason of their doings are become doubtful, there is still hopes of return; but they must repent quickly, that their place may be in the tower. But they that repent not, but continue still in their pleasures, are nigh unto death.

10. As for those who gave in their rods green, excepting their tops, which only were dry, and had clefts; these were always good, and faithful, and upright before God: nevertheless they sinned a little, by reason of their empty pleasures and trifling thoughts

which they had within themselves. Wherefore many of them when they heard my words repented forthwith, and began to dwell in the tower. Nevertheless some grew doubtful, and others to their doubtful minds added dissentions. To these therefore there is still hope of return, because they were always good; but they shall hardly be moved. As for those, lastly, who gave in their rods dry, their tops only excepted, which all were green; they are such as have believed indeed in God, but have lived in wickedness; yet without departing from God; having always willingly borne the name of the Lord, and readily received into their houses the servants of God. Wherefore hearing these things, they returned, and without delay repented, and lived in all righteousness. And some of them suffered death, others readily underwent many trials, being mindful of their evil doings.

11. And when he had ended his explications of all the rods, he said unto me, go and say unto all men that they repent, and they shall live unto God; because the Lord being moved with great clemency, hath sent me to preach repentance unto all; even unto those who by reason of their evil doings, deserve not to attain unto salvation. But the Lord will be patient, and keep the invitation that was made by his son. I said unto him, sir, I hope that all, when they shall hear these things, will repent. For I trust that every one acknowledging his crimes, and taking up the fear of the Lord, will return unto repentance. He said unto me, whosoever shall repent with all their hearts, and cleanse themselves from all the evils that I have before mentioned, and not add any thing more to their sins, shall receive from the Lord the cure of their former iniquities, if they shall not make any doubt of these commands, and shall live unto God. But they that shall continue to add to their transgressions, and shall still converse with the lusts of this present world, shall condemn themselves unto death. But do thou walk in these commands, and thou shalt

live unto God: and whosoever shall walk in these, and exercise them rightly, shall live unto God. And having shewed me all these things, he said, I will shew thee the rest in a few days.

SIMILITUDE IX.

THE GREATEST MYSTERIES OF THE MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT CHURCH WHICH IS TO BE BUILT.

1. AFTER I had written the commands and similitudes of the shepherd, the angel of repentance, he came unto me, and said to me, I will shew thee all those things which the spirit spake with thee under the figure of the Church.† For that spirit is the Son of God. And because thou wert weak in body, it was not declared unto thee by the angel, until thou wert strengthened by the spirit, and increased in force, that thou mightest also see the angel. For then indeed the building of the tower was very well and gloriously shewn unto thee by the Church; nevertheless thou sawest all things shewn unto thee as it were by a virgin. But now thou art enlightened by the angel, but yet by the same spirit. But thou must consider all things diligently; for therefore am I sent into thine house by that venerable messenger, that when thou shalt have seen all things powerfully, thou mayest not be afraid as before. And he led me to the height of a mountain of Arcadia, and we sat upon its top And he shewed me a great plain, and about it twelve mountains in different figures. The first was black as soot: the second was smooth, without herbs: the third was full of thorns and thistles: the fourth had herbs half dried, of which the upper part was

† Ante, Book I.

green, but that next the root was dry; and some of the herbs, when the sun grew hot, were dry. The fifth mountain was very rugged, but yet had green herbs. The sixth mountain was full of clefts, some lesser and some greater; and in those clefts grew grass, not flourishing, but which seemed to be withering. The seventh mountain had delightful pasture, and was wholly fruitful; and all kinds of cattle, and of the birds of heaven, fed upon it; and the more they fed of it, the more and better did the grass grow. The eighth mountain was full of fountains, and from those fountains were watered all kinds of the creatures of God. The ninth mountain had no water at all, but was wholly destitute of it, and nourished deadly serpents and destructive to men. The tenth mountain was full of tall trees, and altogether shady; and under the shade of them lay cattle resting and chewing the cud. The eleventh mountain was full of the thickest trees; and those trees seemed to be loaded with several sorts of fruits, that whosoever saw them could not choose but desire to eat of their fruit. The twelfth mountain was altogether white, and of a most pleasant aspect, and itself gave a most excellent beauty to itself.

2. In the middle of the plain he shewed me a huge white rock,† which rose out of the plain, and the rock was higher than those mountains, and was square; so that it seemed capable of supporting the whole world. It looked to me to be old, yet had in it a new gate, which seemed to have been newly hewn out in it. Now that gate was bright beyond the sun itself; insomuch that I greatly admired at its light. About that gate stood twelve virgins; of which, four, that stood at the corners of the gate, seemed to me to be the chiefest, although the rest also were of worth: and they stood in the four parts of the gate. It added also to the grace of those virgins, that they stood in

† Origen. Hom. iii. in Ezech.

pairs, clothed with linen garments, and decently girded, their right arms being at liberty, as if they were about to lift up some burden; for so they were adorned, and were exceeding cheerful and ready. When I saw this, I wondered with myself to see such great and noble things. And again I admired upon the account of those virgins, that they were so handsome and delicate; and stood with such firmness and constancy, as if they would carry the whole heaven, and as I was thinking thus within myself, the shepherd said unto me, what thinkest thou within thyself, and art disquieted, and fillest thyself with care? Do not seem to consider, as if thou wert wise, what thou dost not understand, but pray unto the Lord, that thou mayest have ability to understand it: what is to come thou canst not understand, but thou seest that which is before thee. Be not therefore disquieted at those things which thou canst not see; but get the understanding of those which thou seest. Forbear to be curious, and I will shew thee all things that I ought to declare unto thee: but first consider what yet remains.

3. And when he had said this unto me I looked up, and behold I saw six tall and venerable men coming; their countenances were all alike; and they called a certain multitude of men, and they who came at their call were also tall and stout. And those six commanded them to build a certain tower over that gate. And immediately there began to be a great noise of those men running here and there about the gate, who were come together to build the tower. But those virgins which stood about the gate perceived that the building of the tower was to be hastened by them, and they stretched out their hands, as if they were to receive somewhat from them to do. Then those six men commanded, that they should lift up stones out of a certain deep place, and prepare them for the building of the tower. And there were lifted up ten white stones, square, and not cut round.

Then those six men called the virgins to them, and commanded them to carry all the stones that were to be put into the building; and having carried them through the gate to deliver them to those that were about to build that tower. Immediately the virgins began all of them together to lift up those stones, that were before taken out of the deep.

4. And they also who stood about the gate did carry stones in such a manner, that those stones which seemed to be the strongest were laid at the corners, the rest were put into the sides; and thus they carried all the stones, and bringing them through the gate, delivered them to the builders, as they had been commanded; who receiving them at their hands, built with them. But this building was made upon that great rock, and over the gate; and by these the whole tower was supported. But the building of the ten stones filled the whole gate, which began to be made for the foundation of that tower. After those ten stones did five and twenty others rise up out of the deep, and these were placed in the building of the same tower, being lifted up by those virgins, as the others had been before. After these did five and thirty others rise up, and these were also in like manner fitted into the same work. Then forty other stones were brought up, and all these were added unto the building of that tower. So there began to be four ranks in the foundation of that tower; and the stones ceased to rise out of the deep; and they also which built rested a little. Again, those six men commanded the multitude, that they should bring stones out of those twelve mountains to the building of the same tower. So they cut out of all the mountains stones of divers colours, and brought them and gave them to the virgins; which when they had received, they carried them and delivered them into the building of the tower. In which when they were built they became white, and different from what they were before; for they were all alike, and did change

their former colours. And some were reached up by the men themselves, which when they came into the building, continued such as they were put in. These neither became white, nor different from what they were before; because they were not carried by the virgins through the gate. Wherefore these stones were disagreeable in the building; which when those six men perceived, they commanded them to be removed, and put again in the place from which they were brought. And they said to those who brought those stones, do not yet reach up to us any stones for this building, but lay them down by the tower, that these virgins may carry them and reach them to us; for unless they shall be carried by these virgins through this gate, they cannot change their colours; therefore do not labour in vain.

5. So the building that day was done, howbeit the tower was not finished, for it was afterwards to be built, therefore now also there was some delay made of it. And these six men commanded those that built to depart, and as it were to rest for some time; but they ordered those virgins that they should not depart from the tower: now they seemed to me to be left for the guarding of it. When all were departed, I said unto that shepherd, sir, why is not the building of the tower finished? Because it cannot, said he, be finished until its Lord comes, and approves of the building; that if he shall find any stones in it that are not good they may be changed; for this tower is built according to his will. Sir, said I, I would know what the building of this tower signifies; as also I would be informed concerning this rock, and this gate, and concerning the mountains and the virgins, and the stones that did rise out of the deep, and were not cut, but put into the building just as they came forth; and why the ten stones were first laid in the foundation; then the twenty five, then thirty five, then forty? Also concerning those stones that were put into the building, and again taken out and carried back to their

place? Fulfil, I pray, the desire of my soul as to all these things, and manifest all unto me. And he said unto me, if thou shalt not be dull, thou shalt know all, and shalt see all the other things that are about to happen in this tower; and shalt understand diligently all these similitudes. And after a few days we came into the same place where we had sat before; and he said unto me, let us go unto the tower, for the Lord of it will come and examine it. So we came thither, and found none but those virgins there. And he asked them whether the Lord of that tower was come thither? And they replied, that he would be there presently, to examine the building.

6. After a very little while I saw a great multitude of men coming, and in the middle of them a man so tall that he surpassed the tower in height. About him were those six, who before commanded in the building, and all the rest of those who had built that tower, and many others of great dignity; and the virgins that kept the tower ran to meet him, and kissed him, and began to walk near unto him. But he examined the building with so much care that he handled every stone, and struck every one with a rod which he held in his hand; of which some being struck turned black as soot; others were rough; some looked as if they had cracks in them; others seemed maimed; some neither black nor white; some looked sharp, and agreed not with the other stones, and others were full of spots. These were the several kinds of those stones which were not found proper in the building; all which the Lord commanded to be taken out of the tower, and laid near it, and other stones to be brought and put in their places. And they that built, asked him from which of the mountains he would have stones brought to put in the place of those that were laid aside: but he forbade them to bring any from the mountains, and commanded that they should take them out of a certain field that was near; so they digged in that field, and found many bright square

stones, and some also that were round. Howbeit, all that were found in that field were taken and carried through the gate by those virgins; and those of them that were square were fitted and put into the places of those that were pulled out. But the round ones were not put into the building, because they were hard, and it would have required too much time to cut them; but they were placed about the tower, as if they should hereafter be cut square, and put into the building, for they were very white.

7. When he who was chief in dignity, and Lord of the whole tower saw this, he called to him the shepherd that was with me, and gave him the stones that were rejected and laid about the tower, and said unto him, cleanse these stones with all care, and fit them into the building of the tower, that they may agree with the rest; but those that will not suit with the rest, cast away afar off from the tower. When he had thus commanded him, he departed, with all those that came with him to the tower; but those virgins still stood about the tower to keep it. And I said unto that shepherd, how can these stones, seeing they have been rejected, return into the building of this tower? He replied, I will cut off the greatest part from these stones, and will add them to the building, and they will agree with the rest. And I said, sir, how will they be able to fill the same place, when they shall be so much cut away? He answered, they that shall be found too little shall be put into the middle of the building, and the greater shall be placed without, and keep them in. When he had said thus unto me, he added, let us go, and after three days we will return, and I will put these stones, being cleansed, into the tower. For all these that are about the tower must be cleansed, lest the master of the house chance to come upon the sudden, and find those which are about the tower unclean, and be so exasperated that these stones should never be put into the

building of this tower,(*u*) and I shall be looked upon to have been unmindful of my master's commands.(*x*) When therefore we came after three days to the tower, he said unto me, let us examine all these stones, and let us see which of them may go into the building. I answered, sir, let us see.

6. And first of all we began to consider those which had been black, for they were found just such as they were when they were pulled out of the tower: wherefore he commanded them to be removed from the tower, and put by themselves. Then he examined those which had been rough, and commanded many of those to be cut round, and to be fitted by the virgins into the building of the tower: so they took them and fitted them into the middle of the building; and he commanded the rest to be laid by with the black ones, for they also were become black. Next he considered those which were full of cracks, and many of those also he ordered to be pared away, and so to be added to the rest of the building, by the same virgins: these were placed without, because they were found entire; but the residue through the multitude of their cracks could not be reformed, and therefore were cast away from the building of the tower. Then he considered those that had been maimed; many of these had cracks, and were become black, others had large clefts; these he commanded to be placed with those that were rejected; but the rest being cleansed and reformed, he commanded to be put into the building. These therefore those virgins took up and fitted into the middle of the building, because they were but weak. After these he examined those which were found half white and half black; and many of those were now black: these also he ordered to be laid among those that were cast away. The rest were found altogether white; those were taken up by the virgins, and fitted into the same tower; and these

(*u*) MS. Lamb. Ita Exasperetur, ut hi Lapides
(*x*) MS. Lamb. Negligens Patris familias

were put in the outside, because they were found entire,(y) that so they might keep in those that were placed in the middle, for nothing was cut off from them. Next he looked upon those which had been hard and sharp,(z) but few of these were made use of, because they could not be cut, for they were found very hard; but the rest were formed, and fitted by the virgins into the middle of the building, because they were more weak. Then he considered those which had spots; of these a few were found black, and these were carried to their fellows. The rest were white and entire; and they were fitted by the virgins into the building, and placed in the outside, by reason of their strength.

9. After this he came to consider those stones which were white and round, and he said unto me, what shall we do with these stones? I answered, sir, I cannot tell. He replied, canst thou think of nothing then for these? I answered, sir, I understand not this art, neither am I a stone-cutter, nor can I tell any thing. And he said, seest thou not that they are very round? now to make them square, I must cut off a great deal from them; howbeit it is necessary that some of these should go into the building of the tower. I answered, if it be necessary, why do you perplex yourself, and not rather choose, if you have any choice among them, and fit them into the building? upon this he chose out the largest and brightest, and squared them; which when he had done, the virgins took them up and placed them in the outside of the building. And the rest that remained, were carried back into the same field from which they were taken: howbeit they were not cast away, because, said he, there is yet a little wanting to this tower which is to be built; and perhaps the Lord will have these stones fitted into this building, because they are exceeding white. Then were there called twelve very stately

(y) Vid. MS. Lamb. Edit. Oxon. p. 157.
(z) MS. Lamb. Fugrant.

women, clothed with a black garment, girded, and their shoulders free, and their hair loose. These seemed to me to be country women. And the shepherd commanded them to take up those stones which were cast out of the building, and carry them back to the mountains out of which they were taken. And they took them all up joyfully, and carried them back to their places from whence they had been taken. When not one stone remained about the tower, he said unto me, let us go about this tower, and see whether any thing be wanting to it. We began therefore to go round about it, and when he saw that it was handsomely built, he began to be very glad; for it was so beautifully framed, that any one that had seen it must have been in love with the building; for it seemed to be all but one stone, nor did any joint any where appear, but it looked as if it had all been cut out of one rock.

10. And when I diligently considered what a tower it was, I was extremely pleased; and he said unto me, bring hither some lime and little shells, that I may fill up the spaces of those stones that were taken out of the building, and put in again; for all things about the tower must be made even. And I did as he commanded me, and brought them unto him; and he said unto me, be ready to help me, and this work will quickly be finished. He therefore filled up the spaces of those stones, and commanded the place about the tower to be cleansed. Then those virgins took besoms and cleansed all the place around, and took away all the rubbish, and threw on water; which being done, the place became delightful, and the tower beauteous. Then he said unto me, all is now clean; if the Lord should come to finish the tower, he will find nothing whereby to complain of us. When he had said this, he would have departed; but I laid hold on his bag, and began to entreat him for the Lord's sake, that he would explain to me all things that he had shewn me. He said unto me, I have at present a little business,

but I will suddenly explain all things unto thee. Tarry here for me until I come. I said unto him, sir, what shall I do here alone? He answered, thou art not alone, seeing all these virgins are with thee. I said, sir, deliver me then unto them. Then he called them, and said unto them, I commend this man unto you until I shall come. So I remained with those virgins: now they were cheerful and courteous unto me, especially the four which seemed to be the chiefest among them.

11. Then those virgins said unto me, that shepherd will not return hither to day. I said unto them, what then shall I do? They answered, tarry for him until the evening, if perhaps he may come and speak with thee, but if not, yet thou shalt continue with us until he does come. I said unto them, I will tarry for him until evening, but if he comes not by that time, I will go home, and return hither again the next morning. They answered me, thou art delivered unto us, thou mayest not depart from us. I said, where shall I tarry? They replied, thou shalt sleep with us as a brother, not as a husband; for thou art our brother, and we are ready from henceforth to dwell with thee, for thou art very dear to us. Howbeit I was ashamed to continue with them. But she that seemed to be the chiefest among them, embraced me, and began to kiss me. And the rest, when they saw that I was kissed by her, began also to kiss me as a brother, and led me about the tower, and played with me. Some of them also sung psalms, others made up the chorus with them. But I walked about the tower with them, rejoicing silently, and seeming to myself to be grown young again. When the evening came on, I would forthwith have gone home, but they withheld me, and suffered me not to depart. Wherefore I continued with them that night near the same tower. So they spread their linen garments upon the ground, and placed me in the middle, nor did they any thing else, only they prayed. I also prayed

with them without ceasing, no less than they. Who when they saw me pray in that manner, rejoiced greatly; and I continued there with them until the next day. And when we had worshipped God, then the shepherd came and said unto them, you have done no injury to this man. They answered, ask him. I said unto him, sir, I have received a great deal of satisfaction in that I have remained with them. And he said unto me, how didst thou sup? I answered, sir, I feasted the whole night upon the words of the Lord. They received thee well then, said he? I said, sir, very well. He answered, wilt thou now learn what thou didst desire? I replied, sir, I will: and first I pray thee that thou shouldest shew me all things in the order that I asked them. He answered, I will do all as thou wouldest have me, nor will I hide any thing from thee.

12. First of all sir, said I, tell me what this rock and this gate denote? Hearken, said he; this rock and this gate, are the Son of God. I replied, sir, how can that be, seeing the rock is old, but the gate new? Hear, said he, O foolish man! and understand. The Son of God is indeed more antient than any creature; insomuch that he was in council with his Father at the creation of all things. But the gate is therefore new, because he appeared in the last days at the fulness of time; that they who shall attain unto salvation, may by it enter into the kingdom of God. You have seen, said he, those stones which were carried through the gate, how they were placed in the building of the tower; but that those which were not carried through the gate, were sent away into their own places? I answered, sir, I saw it. Thus said he, no man shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he who shall take upon him the name of the Son of God. For if you would enter into any city, and that city should be encompassed with a wall, and had only one gate, could you enter into that city except by that gate? I answered, sir, how could I do other-

wise? As therefore, said he, there would be no other way of entering into that city but by this gate, so neither can any one enter into the kingdom of God, but only by the name of his son, who is most dear unto him. And he said unto me, didst thou see the multitude of those that built that tower? Sir, said I, I saw it. He answered, all those are the angels, venerable in their dignity. With these is the Lord encompassed as with a wall; but the gate is the Son of God, who is the only way of coming unto God. For no man shall go to God, but by his Son. Thou sawest also, said he, the six men, and in the middle of them that venerable great man, who walked about the tower, and rejected the stones out of the tower? Sir, said I, I saw them. He answered, that tall man was the Son of God, and those six were his angels of most eminent dignity, which stand about him on the right hand and on the left. Of these excellent angels none comes in unto God without him. He added, whosoever therefore shall not take upon him his name, he shall not enter into the kingdom of God.

13. Then I said, what is this tower? This, said he, is the Church. And what, sir, are these virgins? He said unto me, these are the Holy Spirits, for no man can enter into the kingdom of God, except these clothe him with their garment; for it will avail thee nothing to take up the name of the Son of God, unless thou shalt also receive their garment from them; for these virgins are the powers of the Son of God. So shall a man in vain bear his name, unless he shall also be endued with his powers. And he said unto me, sawest thou those stones that were cast away? they bore indeed the name, but put not on their garment. I said, sir, what is their garment? Their very names, said he, are their garment.(*d*) Therefore whosoever beareth the name of the Son of God, ought to bear their names also; for the Son of God also him-

(*d*) Vid. Annot. Edit. Oxon. p. 116. d.

self beareth their names. As for those stones, continued he, which being delivered by their hands, thou sawest remain in the building, they were clothed with their power, for which cause thou seest the whole tower of the same colour with the rock, and made as it were of one stone.(e) So also those who have believed in God by his Son, have put on this spirit. Behold there shall be one spirit, and one body, and one colour of their garments; and all they shall attain this, who shall bear the names of these virgins. And I said, sir, why when were those stones cast away which were rejected? seeing they also were carried through the gate, and delivered by the hands of these virgins into the building of this tower. Seeing, said he, thou takest care to inquire diligently into all things, hear also concerning those stones which were rejected. All these received the name of the Son of God, and with that the power of these virgins; having therefore received these spirits they were perfected, and brought into the number of the servants of God, and they began to be one body, and to have one garment, for they were endued with the same righteousness, which they alike exercised;(f) but after that they beheld these women which thou sawest clothed with a black garment, with their shoulders at liberty and their hair loose, they fixed their desires upon them, being tempted with their beauty; and were clothed with their power and cast off the clothing of the virgins: therefore were they cast off from the house of God, and delivered to those women; but they that were not corrupted with their beauty, remained in the house of God. This, said he, is the signification of those stones which were rejected.

14. And I said, sir, what if any of these men shall repent, and cast away their desire of those women and be converted, and return to these virgins, and put

(e) Vid Origen. Philocal. c. viii.

(f) Sentiebant æquitatem. Lat. from the Greek ἐφρόνουν: but the true reading of Hermas seemeth to have been ἐφρόνουν.

on again their virtue, shall they not enter into the house of God? They shall enter, said he, if they shall lay aside all the works of those women, and shall resume the power of these virgins, and shall walk in their works. And for this cause there is a stop in the building, that if they shall repent, they may be added to the building of this tower; but if they shall not repent, that others may be built in their places, and so they may be utterly cast away. For all these things I gave thanks unto the Lord, that being moved with mercy towards all those upon whom his name is called, he sent to us the angel of repentance to preside over us who have sinned against him; and that he has refreshed our spirits which were almost gone, and who had no hope of salvation, but are now refreshed to the renewal of life. Then I said, shew me now, sir, why this tower is not built upon the ground, but upon a rock, and upon the gate? He replied, thou art foolish and without understanding, therefore thou askest this. And I said, sir, I must needs ask all things of you, because I understand nothing at all; for all your answers are great and excellent, and which a man can hardly understand.—Hear, said he, the name of the Son of God is great and without bounds, and the whole world is supported by it. If therefore, said I, every creature of God be sustained by his son, why should he not support those also who have been invited by him, and who carry his name and walk in his commandment? Seest thou not, said he, that he does support them, who with all their heart bear his name? he therefore is their foundation, and gladly supports those who do not deny his name, but willingly bear it.

15. And I said, sir, tell me the names of these virgins, and of those women that were clothed with the black garment. Hear, said he, the names of those virgins which are the more powerful, and stand at the corners of the gate; these are their names: the first

is called Faith; the second, Continence; the third, Power; the fourth, Patience; the rest which stand beneath these are, Simplicity, Innocence, Chastity, Cheerfulness, Truth, Understanding, Concord, Charity.(*g*) Whosoever therefore bear these names, and the name of the Son of God, shall enter into the kingdom of God. Hear now, said he, the names of those women who were clothed with the black garment: of these, four are the principal: the first is Perfidiousness; the second, Incontinence; the third, Infidelity; the fourth, Pleasure; and the rest which follow are called thus, Sadness, Malice, Lust, Anger, Lying, Foolishness, Pride, and Hatred. The servant of God which carries these spirits, shall see indeed the kingdom of God, but he shall not enter into it. But, sir, what are those stones which were taken out of the deep, and fitted into the building? The ten, said he, which were placed at the foundation, are the first age; the following five and twenty, the second, of righteous men; the next thirty five, are the prophets and ministers of the Lord; and the forty, are the apostles and doctors of the preaching of the Son of God. And I said, sir, why did the virgins put even these stones into the building after they were carried through the gate? And he said, because these first carried those spirits, and they departed not one from the other, neither the men from the spirits, nor the spirits from the men, but the spirits were joined to those men even to the day of their death; who if they had not had these spirits with them, they could not have been useful to the building of this tower.

16. And I said, sir, shew me this farther. He answered, what dost thou ask? Why did these stones come out of the deep, and were placed into the building of this tower, seeing that they long ago carried those holy spirits? It was necessary, said he, for them to ascend by water, that they might be at rest.(*i*)

(*g*) Origen. Hom. 13, in Ezek.
(*i*) Vik. Edit. Oxon. p. 171, b.

For they could not otherwise enter into the kingdom of God, but by laying aside the mortality of their former life; they therefore being dead, were nevertheless sealed with the seal of the Son of God, and so entered into the kingdom of God: for before a man receives the name of the Son of God, he is ordained unto death, but when he receives that seal, he is freed from death, and assigned unto life: now that seal is the water of baptism, into which men go down under the obligation unto death, but come up appointed unto life; wherefore to those also was this seal preached, and they made use of it, that they might enter into the kingdom of God.(*l*) And I said, why then, sir, did these forty stones also ascend with them out of the deep, having already received that seal? He answered, because these apostles and teachers, who preached the name of the Son of God, dying after they had received his faith and power, preached to them who were dead before, and they gave this seal to them:(*m*) they went down therefore into the water with them, and again came up; but these went down whilst they were alive, and came up again alive; whereas those, who were before dead, went down dead, but came up alive. Through these therefore they received life, and knew the Son of God; for which cause they came up with them, and were fit to come into the building of the tower, and were not cut, but put in entire, because they died in righteousness, and in great purity; only this seal was wanting to them. Thus you have the explication of these things.

17. I answered, sir, tell me now what concerns those mountains, why they are so different, some of one form, and some of another? Hear, said he, these twelve mountains which thou seest, are twelve nations, which make up the whole world; wherefore

(*l*) Vid. Coteler. Annot. in loc. pag. 77, 78, Comp. 1 Pet. iii. 19.
(*m*) Vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. Et vi.

the Son of God is preached to them, by those whom he sent unto them. But why, said I, are they different, and every one of a figure? He replied, hearken: those twelve nations which possess the whole world, are twelve people; and as thou hast beheld these mountains different, so are they; I will therefore open to thee the meaning, and actions of every mountain. But first, sir, said I, shew me this: seeing these mountains are so different, how have they agreed into the building of this tower, and been brought to one colour, and are no less bright than those which came out of the deep? because, replied he, all the nations which are under heaven, have heard and believed in the same one name of the Son of God by whom they are called; wherefore having received his seal, they have all been made partakers of the same understanding and knowledge, and their faith and charity have been the same, and they have carried the spirits of these virgins together with his name; and therefore the building of this tower appeared to be of the same colour, and did shine like the brightness of the sun. But after that they had thus agreed in one mind, there began to be one body of them all; howbeit some of them polluted themselves, and were cast off from the kind of the righteous, and again returned to their former state, and became even worse than they were before.

18. How, said I, sir, were they worse who knew the Lord? He answered, if he who knows not the Lord liveth wickedly, the punishment of his wickedness attends him. But he who has known the Lord, ought to abstain altogether from all wickedness, and more and more to be the servant of righteousness. And does not he then seem to thee to sin more who ought to follow goodness, if he shall prefer the part of sin, than he who offends without knowing the power of God? Wherefore these are indeed ordained unto death; but they who have known the Lord, and have seen his wonderful works, if they shall live

wickedly, they shall be doubly punished, and shall die for ever. As therefore thou hast seen that after the stones were cast out of the tower, which had been rejected, they were delivered to wicked and cruel spirits; and thou beheldest the tower so cleansed, as if it had all been made of one stone; so the Church of God,(q) when it shall be purified, (the wicked and counterfeits, the mischievous and doubtful, and all that have behaved themselves wickedly in it, and committed divers kinds of sin, being cast out,) shall become one body, and there shall be one understanding, one opinion, one faith, and the same charity; and then shall the Son of God rejoice among them, and shall receive his people with a pure will. And I said, sir, all these things are great and honourable: but now shew unto me the effect and force of every mountain, that every soul which trusteth in the Lord, when it shall hear these things, may honour his great and wonderful, and holy name. Hear, said he, the variety of these mountains, that is, of the twelve nations.

19. They who have believed of the first mountain, which is black, are those who have revolted from the faith, and spoken wicked things against the Lord, and betrayed the servants of God. These are condemned to death, there is no repentance for them; and therefore they are black, because their kind is wicked. Of the second mountain which was smooth, are the hypocrites, who have believed, and the teachers of naughtiness; and these are next to the foregoing, which have not in them the fruit of righteousness. For as their mountain is barren, and without fruit, so also such kind of men have indeed the name of Christians, but are empty of faith, nor is there any fruit of the truth in them. Nevertheless there is room left to them for repentence, if they shall suddenly pursue it; but if they shall delay, they also shall be

(q) Vid. Origen. Philocal. C. viii.

partakers of death with the foregoing kind. I said, sir, why is there room left to those for repentance, and not to the foregoing kind, seeing their sins are well nigh the same? there is therefore, said he, to these a return unto life by repentance, because they have not blasphemed against their Lord, nor betrayed the servants of God; but by their desire of gain have deceived men, leading them according to the lusts of sinners; wherefore they shall suffer for this thing. Howbeit there is still left them room for repentance, because they have not spoken any thing wickedly against their Lord.

20. They who are of the third mountain which had thorns and brambles, are those who believed, but were some of them rich, others taken up with many affairs: the brambles are their riches, the thorns those affairs in which they were engaged. Now they who are entangled in much business, and in diversity of affairs, join not themselves to the servants of God, but wander, being called away by those affairs with which they are choaked. And so they which are rich, with difficulty yield themselves to the conversation of the servants of God,(*t*) fearing lest any thing should be asked of them. These therefore shall hardly enter into the kingdom of God. For as men walk with difficulty bare-foot over thorns, even so these kind of men shall scarcely enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheless there is afforded to all these a return unto repentance; if so be they shall quickly return to it; that because in their former days they have neglected to work, in the time that is to come they may do some good. If therefore having repented, they shall do the works of righteousness, they shall live; but if they shall continue in their evil courses, they shall be delivered to those women that will take away their life.

(*t*) Vid. Edit. Oxon. p. 178. Not b.

21. As for the fourth mountain, which had many herbs, the upper part of which is green, but the roots dry, and some of which being touched with the heat of the sun, are withered; it denotes the doubtful, who have believed, and some others who carry the Lord in their tongues, but have them not in their heart; therefore their grass is dry, and without root, because they live only in words, but their works are dead. These therefore are neither dead nor living, and withal are doubtful. For the doubtful are neither green nor dry; that is, neither dead nor alive. For as the herbs dry away at the sight of the sun, so the doubtful, as soon as they hear of persecution, and fear inconveniences, return to their idols, and again serve them, and are ashamed to bear the name of their Lord. This kind of men then is neither dead nor alive; nevertheless these also may live, if they shall presently repent; but if not, they shall be delivered to those women, who shall take away their life.

22. As concerning the fifth mountain that is craggy, and yet has green grass, they are of this kind who have believed, and are faithful indeed, but believe with difficulty; and are bold and self-conceited; that would be thought to know all things, but really know nothing. Wherefore, by reason of this confidence, knowledge is departed from them, and a rash presumption is entered into them. But they carry themselves high, and as prudent men; and though they are fools, yet would seem to be teachers. Now by reason of this folly, many of them, whilst they magnify themselves, are become vain and empty. For boldness and vain confidence is a very evil spirit. Wherefore many of these are cast away; but others acknowledging their error, have repented and submitted themselves to those who are knowing; and to all the rest of this kind there is repentance allowed; forasmuch as they were not so much wicked as foolish, and void of understaning. If these therefore shall repent, they shall live unto God; but if not, they

shall dwell with those women, who shall exercise their wickedness upon them.

23. For what concerns the sixth mountain having greater and lesser clefts, they are such as have believed; but those in which were lesser clefts, are they who have had controversies among themselves; and by reason of their quarrels languish in the faith: nevertheless many of these have repented, and so will the rest when they shall hear my commands; for their controversies are but small, and they will easily return unto repentance. But those who have the greater clefts, will be as stiff stones, mindful of grudges and offences, and full of anger among themselves. These therefore are cast from the tower, and refused to be put into its building, for this kind of men shall hardly live. Our God and Lord, who ruleth over all things, and has power over all his creatures, will not remember our offences, but is easily appeased by those who confess their sins: but man being languid, mortal, infirm, and full of sins, perseveres in his anger against man, as if it were in his power to save or to destroy him. But I, as the angel who am set over your repentance, admonish you, that whosoever among you has any such purpose, he should lay it aside and return unto repentance, and the Lord will heal your former sins, if you shall purge yourselves from this evil spirit; but if you shall not do it, ye shall be delivered to him unto death.

24. As for the seventh mountain in which the grass was green and flourishing, and the whole mountain fruitful, and all kind of cattle fed upon the grass of it; and the more the grass was eaten, so much the more it flourished; they are such as believed, and were always good and upright; and without any differences among themselves, but still rejoiced in the servants of God, having put on the spirit of these virgins, and been always forward to shew mercy to all men, readily giving to all men of their labours without upbraiding, and without deliberation. Where-

fore the Lord seeing their simplicity and innocence, has increased them in the works of their hands, and given them grace in all their works. But I, who am the angel appointed over your repentance, exhort you, that as many as are of this kind, would continue in the same purpose, that your seed may not be rooted out for ever. For the Lord hath tried you, and written you into our number, and all your seed shall dwell with the Son of God, for ye are all of his spirit.

25. As concerning the eighth mountain in which were a great many springs, by which every kind of all the creatures of God was watered, they are such as have believed the Apostles which the Lord sent into all the world to preach, and some of them being teachers(*y*) have preached and taught purely and sincerely, and have not in the least yielded to any evil desires, but have constantly walked in righteous and truth; these therefore have their conversation among the angels.

26. Again, as for what concerns the ninth mountain which is desert and full of serpents, they are such as have believed, but had many stains: these are such ministers as discharge their ministry amiss, ravishing away the goods of the widows and fatherless, and serve themselves, not others, out of those things which they have received; these, if they continue in this covetousness, have delivered themselves unto death, nor shall there be any hope of life for them. But if they shall be converted, and shall discharge their ministry sincerely, they may live. As for those which were found rough, they are such as have denied the name of the Lord, and not returned again to the Lord, but have become savage and wild, not applying themselves to the servants of God, but being separated from them, have for a little carefulness lost their lives; for as a vine that is forsaken in a hedge, and never dressed, perishes and is choaked by the weeds, and in

(*y*) MS. Lamb. Et quidam Doctores caste; Omitting qui.

time becomes wild, and ceases to be useful to its Lord; so this kind of men despairing of themselves, and being soured, have begun to be unprofitable to their Lord: howbeit to these there is, after all, repentance allowed, if they shall not be found from their hearts to have denied Christ; but if any of these shall be found to have denied him from his heart, I cannot tell whether such a one can attain unto life; I say therefore, that if any one hath denied, he should in those days return unto repentance, for it cannot be that any one who now denies the Lord, can attain unto salvation; nevertheless repentance is proposed unto them, who have formerly denied; but he who will repent must hasten on his repentance before the building of this tower is finished; otherwise, he shall be delivered by those women unto death. But they that are maimed are the deceitful, and those who mix with one another, these are the serpents that you saw mingled in that mountain; for as the poison of serpents is deadly unto men, so the words of such persons infect and destroy men; they are therefore maimed in their faith, by reason of that kind of life which they lead: howbeit some of them having repented, have been saved, and so shall others of the same kind be also saved, if they shall repent; but if not they shall die by those women whose power and force they possess.

27. For what concerns the tenth mountain, in which were the trees covering the cattle, they are such as have believed, and some of them been bishops, that is, governors of the Churches: others, are such stones, as have not feignedly, but with a cheerful mind entertained the servants of God: then such as have been set over inferior ministries, and have protected the poor and the widows, and have always kept a chaste conversation, therefore they also are protected by the Lord. Whosoever shall do on this wise, are honoured with the Lord, and their place is among the angels, if they shall continue to obey the Lord even unto the end.

28. As to the eleventh mountain in which were trees loaded with several sorts of fruits, they are such as have believed and suffered death for the name of the Lord, and have endured with a ready mind, and have given up their lives with all their hearts. And I said, why then, sir, have all these fruit indeed, but yet some fairer than others? Hearken, said he, whosoever have suffered for the name of the Lord, are esteemed honourable by the Lord, and all their offences are blotted out, because they have suffered death for the name of the Son of God. Hear now, why their fruits are different, and some of them excel others: they who being brought before magistrates, and being asked, denied not the Lord, but suffered with a ready mind, these are more honourable with the Lord: the fruits therefore that are the most fair are these. But they who were fearful and doubtful, and have deliberated with themselves whether they should confess or deny Christ, and have yet suffered, their fruits are smaller, because that this thought came into their hearts; for it is a wicked and evil thought for a servant to deliberate whether he should deny his master; take heed therefore ye who have such thoughts, that this mind continue not in you, and ye die unto God; but ye who suffer death for his name sake, ought to honour the Lord that he has esteemed you worthy to bear his name, and that you should be delivered from all your sins; and why therefore do you not rather esteem yourselves happy? yea think verily that if any one among you suffer, he performs a great work? for the Lord giveth you life, and ye understand it not; for your offences did oppress you, and if you had not suffered for his name's sake, ye had now been dead unto the Lord; wherefore I speak this unto you who deliberate whether ye should confess or deny him: confess that ye have the Lord for your God, lest at any time denying him, ye be delivered over into bonds; for if all nations punish their servants which deny their masters, what think you that the

Lord will do unto you, who has the power of all things? remove therefore out of your hearts these doubts, that ye may live forever unto God.

29. As for the twelfth mountain, which was white, there are such as have believed like sincere children, into whose thoughts there never came any malice, nor have they ever known what sin was, but have always continued in their integrity; wherefore this kind of men shall without all doubt inherit the kingdom of God, because they have never in any thing defiled the commandments of God, but have continued with sincerity in the same condition all the days of their life: whosoever therefore, said he, shall continue as children without malice, shall be more honourable than all those of whom I have yet spoken; for all such children are honoured by the Lord and esteemed the first of all: happy therefore are ye who shall remove all malice from you, and put on innocence, because ye shall first see the Lord. And after he had thus ended his explication of all the mountains, I said unto him, sir, shew me now also what concerns the stones that were brought out of the plain, and put into the tower in the room of those that were rejected; as also concerning those round stones which were added into the building of the tower; and also of those who still continued round.

30. Hear now, says he, concerning those stones which were brought out of the plain into the building of the tower, and placed in the room of those that were rejected: they are the roots of that white mountain; wherefore because those who have believed of that mountain, were very innocent, the Lord of this tower commanded that they which were of the roots of this mountain should be placed into the building; for he knew that if they were put into this building they would continue bright, nor would any of them any more be made black: but if he had added on this manner from the rest of the mountains, he would almost have needed again to visit this tower and to

cleanse it.(z) Now all these white stones are the young men who have believed, or shall believe, for they are all of the same kind; happy is this kind, because it is innocent. Hear now also concerning those round and bright stones; all these are of this white mountain, but they are therefore found round, because their riches have a little darkened them from the truth and dazzled their eyes; howbeit they have never departed from the Lord, nor has any wicked word proceeded out of their mouths, but all righteousness, and virtue and truth: when therefore the Lord saw their mind, and that they might adorn the truth, he commanded that they should continue good, and that their riches should be pared away, for he would not have them taken wholly away, to the end they might do some good with that which was left, and live unto God, because they also are of a good kind; therefore was there a little cut off from them, and so they were put into the building of this tower.

31. As for the rest which continued still round, and were not found fit for the building of this tower,(a) because they have not yet received the seal; they were carried back to their place, because they were found very round; but this present world must be cut away from them, and the vanities of their riches, and then they will be fit for the kingdom of God; for they must enter into the kingdom of God, because God has blessed this innocent kind; of this kind therefore none shall fall away, for though any of them being tempted by the devil should offend, he shall soon return to his Lord God. I the angel of repentance esteem you happy, whosoever are innocent as little children, because your portion is good and honourable with the Lord; and I say unto all you who have received this seal, keep simplicity, and remember not the offences which are committed against you, nor

(z) MS. Lamb. Tantum non necesse habuisset.
(a) MS. Lamb. Structuram Turris hujus.

continue in malice, or in bitterness, through the memory of offences, but become one spirit,(*a*) and provide remedies for these evil rents, and remove them from you, that the Lord of the sheep may rejoice at it,(*c*) for he will rejoice, if he shall find all whole ;(*d*) but if any of these sheep shall be found scattered away, woe shall be to the shepherds ; but and if the shepherds themselves shall be scattered, what will they answer to the Lord of the sheepfold ? Will they say they were troubled by the sheep ? but they shall not be believed ; for it is an incredible thing that the shepherd should suffer by his flock and he shall be the more punished for his lie. Now I am the shepherd, and I especially must give an account of you.

32. Wherefore take care of yourselves whilst the tower is yet building ; the Lord dwells in those that love peace, for peace is beloved, but he is far off from the contentious, and those who are full of malice ; wherefore restore unto him the spirit entire, as ye received it ; for if thou shalt give unto a fuller a garment new and whole, thou wilt expect to receive it whole again ;(*g*) if therefore the fuller shall restore it unto thee torn, wouldst thou receive it ? wouldst thou not presently be angry, and reproach him, saying, I gave my garment to thee whole, why hast thou rent it and made it useless to me ? now it is of no use to me by reason of the rent which thou hast made in it.— Wouldst thou not say all this to a fuller, for the rent which he made in thy garment ? if therefore thou wouldst be concerned for thy garment, and complain that thou hadst not received it whole, what thinkest thou the Lord will do, who gave his spirit to thee entire, and thou hast rendered him altogether unprofitable, so that he can be of no use unto his Lord ? for

(*b*) MS. Lamb. Et unum Quemq, spiritum fieri : which appears from the Greek of Antiochus to be the true reading, και γενεσθαι εν πνευμα.

(*c*) MS. Lamb gaudeat de His. and Gr. Antioch, χαρη επ' αυτω

(*d*) Vid. Antioch. Hom cxxii.

(*g*) Antioch. Hom. xciv.

being corrupted by thee, he is no longer profitable to him; will not therefore the Lord do the same concerning his spirit, by reason of thy deed? Undoubtedly, said I, he will do the same to all those whom he shall find to continue in the remembrance of injuries; tread not then under foot, said he, his mercy, but rather honour him, because he is so patient with respect to your offences, and not like one of you; but repent, for that will be profitable for you.

33. All these things which are above written, I the shepherd, the angel of repentance, have shewn and spoken to the servants of God: if therefore ye shall believe and hearken to these words, and shall walk in them, and shall correct your ways, ye shall live; but if ye shall continue in malice, and in the remembrance of injuries, no such sinners shall live unto God; all these things which were to be spoken by me, I have thus delivered unto you. Then the shepherd said unto me, hast thou asked all things of me? I answered, sir, I have. Why then, said he, hast thou not asked concerning the spaces of these stones, that were put in the building, that I may explain that also unto thee? I answered, sir, I forgot it. Hear then, said he, concerning those also: they are those who have now heard these commands, and have repented with all their hearts; and when the Lord saw that their repentance was good and pure, and that they could continue in it, he commanded their former sins to be blotted out; for these spaces were their sins, and they are therefore made even that they might not appear.

SIMILITUDE X.

OF REPENTANCE AND ALMS-DEEDS.

1. AFTER that I had written this book, the angel which had delivered me to that shepherd, came into the house where I was, and sat upon the bed, and that shepherd stood at his right hand: then he called me and said unto me, I delivered thee and thy house to this shepherd, that thou mightest be protected by him. I said, yes, Lord. If therefore, said he, thou wilt be protected from all vexations and from all cruelty, and have success in every good word and work and have all virtue and righteousness, walk in those commands which he has given thee, and thou shalt have dominion over all sin; for if thou keepest those commands, all the lust and pleasure of this present world shall be subject to thee, and success shall follow thee in every good undertaking; take therefore his gravity and modesty towards thee, and say unto all, that he is in great honour and renown with God, and is a prince of great authority, and powerful in his office; to him only is the power of repentance committed throughout the whole world: does he not seem to thee to be of great authority? but ye despise his goodness, and the modesty which he shews towards you.

2. I said unto him, sir, ask him since the time that he came into my house, whether I have done any thing disorderly, or have offended him in any thing? I know, said he, that thou hast done nothing disorderly, neither wilt thou hereafter do any such thing, and therefore I speak these things with thee that thou mayest persevere; for he has given me a good account concerning thee. But thou shalt speak these things to others, that they who either have repented, or shall repent, may be like-minded with thee, and he may give me as good an account of them also, and I

may do the same unto the Lord. I answered, sir, I declare to all men the wonderful works of God, and I hope that all who love them and have before sinned, when they shall hear these things, will repent and recover life. Continue, therefore, said he, in this ministry, and fulfil it; and whosoever shall do according to the commandments of this shepherd, he shall live, and shall have great honour both here and with the Lord; but they that shall not keep his commands, flee from their life, and are adversaries unto it; and they that follow not his commands, shall deliver themselves unto death, and shall be every one guilty of his own blood. But I say unto thee, keep these commandments, and thou shalt find a cure for all thy sins.

3. Moreover I have sent these virgins to dwell with thee;(*l*) for I see that they are very kind to thee. Thou shalt therefore have them for thy helpers, that thou mayst the better keep the commands which he hath given thee; for these commands cannot be kept without these virgins. And I see how it will be with thee;(*m*) and I will also command them that they shall not at all depart from thy house. Only do thou purify thy house; for they will readily dwell in a clean house; for they are clean, and chaste, and industrious, and all of them have grace with the Lord. If therefore, thou shalt have thy house pure, they will abide with thee; but if it shall be never so little polluted, they will immediately depart from thy house, for these virgins cannot endure any manner of pollution. I said unto him, sir, I hope that I shall so please them, that they shall always delight to dwell in my house. And as he to whom you have committed me, makes no complaint of me, so neither shall they complain. Then he said to that shepherd, I see that the servant of God will live and keep these commandments, and place these virgins in a pure habitation. When he had said

(*l*) What is meant by these virgins. See before, Simil ix. § 15.

(*m*) MS. Lamb. Vide: Which appears from the close of this section to be the true reading

this, he delivered me again to that shepherd, and called the virgins, and said unto them, forasmuch as I see that ye will readily dwell in this man's house, I commend him and his house to you, that ye may not at all depart from his house; and they willingly heard these words.

4. Then he said unto me, go on manfully in thy ministry; declare to all men the great things of God, and thou shalt find grace in this ministry: and whosoever shall walk in these commands, shall live and be happy in his life; but he that shall neglect them, shall not live, and shall be unhappy in his life. Say unto all, that whosoever can do well, cease not to exercise themselves in good works, for it is profitable unto them; for I would that all men should be delivered from the inconveniences they lie under; for he that wants, and suffers inconveniences in his daily life, is in great torment and necessity. Whosoever therefore delivers such a soul from necessity, gets great joy unto himself; for he that is grieved with such inconveniences, is equally tormented as if he were in chains. And many upon the account of such calamities, being not able to bear them, have chosen even to destroy themselves. He therefore that knows the calamity of such a man, and does not free him from it, commits a great sin, and is guilty of his blood; wherefore exercise yourselves in good works, as many as have received ability from the Lord, lest whilst ye delay to do them, the building of the tower be finished, because for your sakes the building is stopped. Except, therefore, ye shall make haste to do well, the tower shall be finished, and ye shall be shut out of it. And after he had thus spoken with me, he rose up from the bed and departed, taking the shepherd and virgins with him. Howbeit he said unto me, that he would send back the shepherd and virgins unto mine house, Amen.

THE

SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. CLEMENT,

TO THE

CORINTHIANS.

1. BRETHREN, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God, as of the judge of the living and the dead; nor should we think any less of our salvation; for if we think meanly of him, we shall hope only to receive some small things from him; and if we do so, we shall sin; not considering from whence we have been called, and by whom, and to what place, and how much Jesus Christ vouchsafed to suffer for our sakes; what recompense then shall we render unto him? or what fruit that may be worthy of what he has given to us? for indeed how great are those advantages which we owe to him in relation to our holiness? he has illuminated us; as a father, he has called us his children; he has saved us who were lost and undone: what praise shall we give to him? or what reward that may be answerable to those things which we have received? we were defective in our understandings, worshipping stones and wood, gold and silver and brass, and the works of men's hands; and our whole life was nothing else but death: wherefore being encompassed with darkness, and having such a mist before our eyes, we have looked up, and through his will have laid aside the cloud wherewith we were surrounded; for he had compassion upon us,

and being moved in his bowels towards us, he saved us, having beheld us in much error and destruction; and seen that we had no hope of salvation, but only through him; for he called us, who were not, and was pleased from nothing to give us a being.

2. "Rejoice thou barren that bearest not, break forth and cry that thou travailest not; for she that is desolate hath many more children, than she that hath an husband." [Isai. liv. 1.] In that he said, "Rejoice thou barren that bearest not," he spake of us; for our Church was barren, before that children were given unto it. And again, when he said, "cry thou that travailest not;" he implied thus much: that after the manner of women in travail, we should not cease to put up our prayers unto God abundantly.(e) And for what follows, "because she that is desolate hath more children than she that hath a husband." It was therefore added, because our people which seemed to have been forsaken by God, now believing in him, are become more than they who seemed to have God. And another scripture saith, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance," [Mat. ix. 13.] The meaning of which is this, that those who were lost, must be saved; for that is indeed truly great and wonderful, not to confirm those things that are yet standing, but those which are falling; even so did it seem good to Christ to save what was lost, and when he came into the world, he saved many, and called us who were already lost.

3. Seeing then he had shewed so great mercy towards us, and chiefly for that we who are alive, do now no longer sacrifice to dead Gods, nor pay any worship to them, but have by him been brought to the knowledge of the father of the truth; whereby shall we shew that we do indeed know him, but by not denying him by whom we have come to the knowledge

(e) Απλῶς. See St. Jam. i. 5. compare Rom. xii. 8. 2 Cor. viii 2. ix.

of him? for even he himself saith, "whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my father." [Mat. x. 32.] This therefore is our reward, if we shall confess him by whom we have been saved; but wherein must we confess him? Namely, in doing those things which he saith, and not disobeying his commandments; by worshipping him not with our lips only, but with all our heart, and with all our mind; for he saith in Isaiah, "this people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me."—[Isai xxix. 13.]

4. Let us then not only call him Lord, for that will not save us; for he saith, "not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doth righteousness," [Mat. vii. 21.] Wherefore, brethren, let us confess him by our works, by loving one another, in not committing adultery, not speaking evil against each other, not envying one another, but by being temperate, merciful, good; Let us also have a mutual sense of one another's sufferings, and not be covetous of money; but let us by our good works confess God, and not by those that are otherwise; also let us not fear men, but rather God. Wherefore if we should do such wicked things, the Lord hath said, though ye should be joined unto me, even in my very bosom, and not keep my commandments, I would cast you off, and say unto you, "depart from me, I know not whence you are, ye workers of iniquity." [Mat. vii. 32. Luke xiii 67.]

5. Wherefore, brethren, leaving willingly for conscience sake our sojourning in this world, let us do the will of him who has called us, and not fear to depart out of this world; for the Lord saith, "ye shall be as sheep in the midst of wolves. Peter answered and said, what if the wolves shall tear in pieces the sheep? Jesus said unto Peter, let not the sheep fear the wolves after death," [Mat. x. 16.] "And ye also fear not those that kill you, and after that have no more that they can do unto you; but fear him who after you are dead,

has power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire,"—[Mat. xii. 4, 5.] For consider, brethren, that the sojourning of this flesh, in the present world, is but little, and of a short continuance, but the promise of Christ is great and wonderful, even the rest of the kingdom that is to come, and of eternal life. What then must we do that we may attain unto it? We must order our conversation holily and righteously and look upon all the things of this world as none of ours, and not desire them; for if we desire to possess them we fall from the way of righteousness.

6. For thus saith the Lord, "No servant can serve two masters. If therefore we shall desire to serve God and Mammon," [Luke xvi. 13.] it will be without profit to us. "For what will it profit if one gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" [Mat. xvi. 26.] Now this world, and that to come, are two enemies. This speaketh of adultery and corruption, of covetousness and deceit; but that renounceth these things. We cannot therefore be the friends of both, but we must resolve by forsaking the one, to enjoy the other; and we think it is better to hate the present things, as little, short-lived and corruptible, and to love those which are to come, which are truly good and incorruptible. For if we do the will of Christ we shall find rest, but if not, nothing shall deliver us from eternal punishment if we shall disobey his commands. For even thus saith the Scripture in the Prophet Ezekiel, "If Noah, Job and Daniel should rise up, they shall not deliver their children in captivity," [Ezek. xiv. 14, 20.] Wherefore if such righteous men are not able by their righteousness to deliver their children, how can we hope to enter into the kingdom of God, except we keep our baptism holy and undefiled? or who shall be our advocate, unless we shall be found to have done what is holy and just?

7. Let us therefore, my brethren, contend with all earnestness, knowing that our combat is at hand, and that many go long voyages to encounter for a corrup-

ible reward, and yet all are not crowned, but they only that labour much, and strive gloriously. Let us therefore so contend that we may all be crowned. Let us run in the straight road the race that is incorruptible, and let us in great numbers pass unto it, and strive that we may receive the crown. But and if we cannot all be crowned, let us come as near to it as we are able. Moreover, we must consider, that he who contends in a corruptible combat, if he be found doing any thing that is not fair, is taken away and scourged, and cast out of the lists. What think ye then that he shall suffer, who does any thing that is not fitting in the combat of immortality? Thus speaks the Prophet concerning those who keep not their seal. "Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle unto all flesh," [Isa. lxvi. 24.

8. Let us therefore repent whilst we are yet upon the earth, for we are as clay in the hand of the artificer; for as the potter if he make a vessel, and it be turned amiss in his hands, or broken, again forms it anew, but if he have gone so far as to throw it into the furnace of fire, he can no more bring any remedy to it; so we, whilst we are in this world, should repent with our whole heart for whatsoever evil we have done in the flesh, while we have yet the time of repentance, that we may be saved by the Lord; for after we shall have departed out of this world, we shall no longer be able either to confess our sins, or repent in the other. Wherefore, brethren, let us, doing the will of the father, and keeping our flesh pure, and observing the commandments of the Lord, lay hold on eternal life; for the Lord saith in the gospel, "If ye have not kept that which is little, who will give you that which is great? For I say unto you, he that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much," [Luke xvi. 10, 12.] This therefore is what he saith; keep your bodies pure, and your seal without spot, that ye may receive eternal life.

9. And let not any one among you say, that this very flesh is not judged, neither raised up. Consider, in what were ye saved, in what did ye look up, if not whilst ye were in this flesh? We must therefore keep our flesh as the temple of God; for in like manner as ye were called in the flesh, ye shall also come to judgment in the flesh. Our one Lord Jesus Christ, who has saved us, being first a spirit, was made flesh, and so called us: even so we also shall in this flesh receive the reward. Let us therefore love one another, that we may attain unto the kingdom of God. Whilst we have time to be healed, let us deliver up ourselves to God our physician, giving our reward unto him. And what reward shall we give? Repentance out of a pure heart; for he knows all things beforehand, and searches out our very hearts. Let us therefore give praise unto him, not only with our mouths, but with all our souls, that he may receive us as children.(*m*) For so the Lord hath said; "they are my brethren, who do the will of my father," [Mat. xii. 50.]

10. Wherefore, my brethren, let us do the will of the father, who hath called us, that we may live Let us pursue virtue, and forsake wickedness, which leadeth us into sins, and let us flee all ungodliness, that evils overtake us not; for if we shall do our diligence to live well, peace shall follow us. And yet how hard is it to find a man that does this? For almost all are led by human fears, chusing rather the present enjoyments, than the future promise; for they know not how great a torment the present enjoyments bring with them, nor what delights the future promise; and if they themselves only did this, it might the more easily be endured; but now they go on to infect innocent souls with their evil doctrines, not knowing that both themselves, and those that hear them, shall receive a double condemnation.

11. Let us therefore serve God with a pure heart,

(*m*) Vox Θεῷ non est in MS.

and we shall be righteous; but if we shall not serve him, because we do not believe the promise of God, we shall be miserable. For thus saith the prophet; miserable are the double minded, who doubt in their heart and say, these things have we heard, even in the time of our fathers, but we have seen none of them, though we have expected them from day to day. O ye fools! Compare yourselves to a tree; take the vine for an example. First it sheds its leaves, then it buds, then come the sour grapes, then the ripe fruit: even so my people has borne its disorders and afflictions, but shall hereafter receive good things. Wherefore, my brethren, let us not doubt in our minds, but let us expect with hope, that we may receive our reward: for he is faithful who has promised that he will render to every one a reward according to his works. If therefore, we shall do what is just in the sight of God, we shall enter into his kingdom, and shall receive the promises, "which neither eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man," [1 Cor. ii. 9.]

12. Wherefore let us every hour expect the kingdom of God in love and righteousness, because we know not the day of God's appearing.

THE END.

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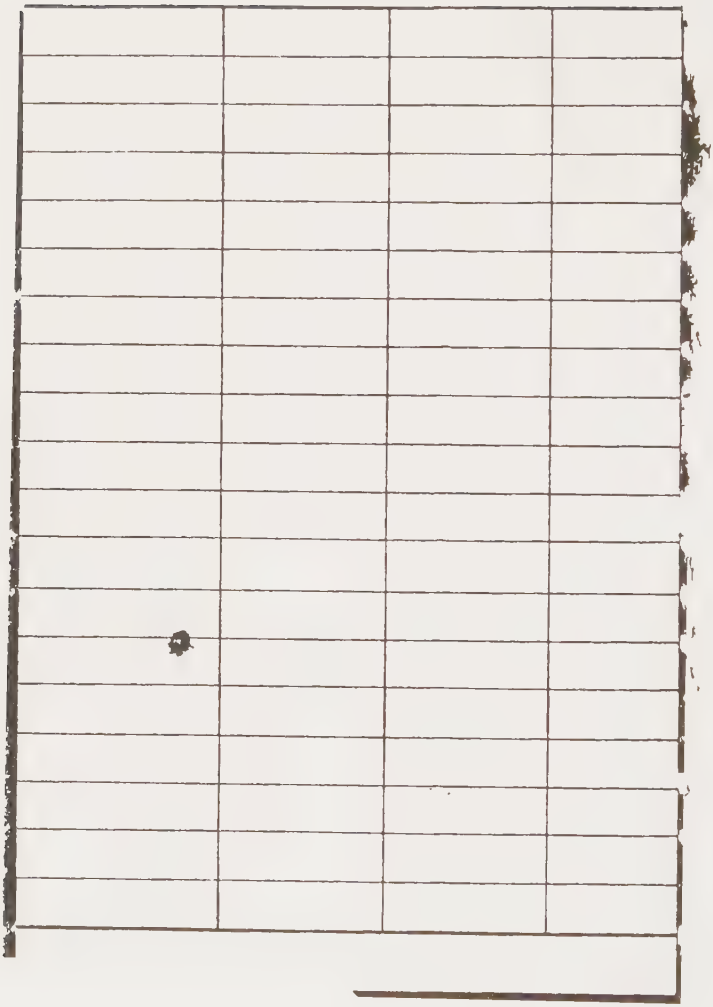

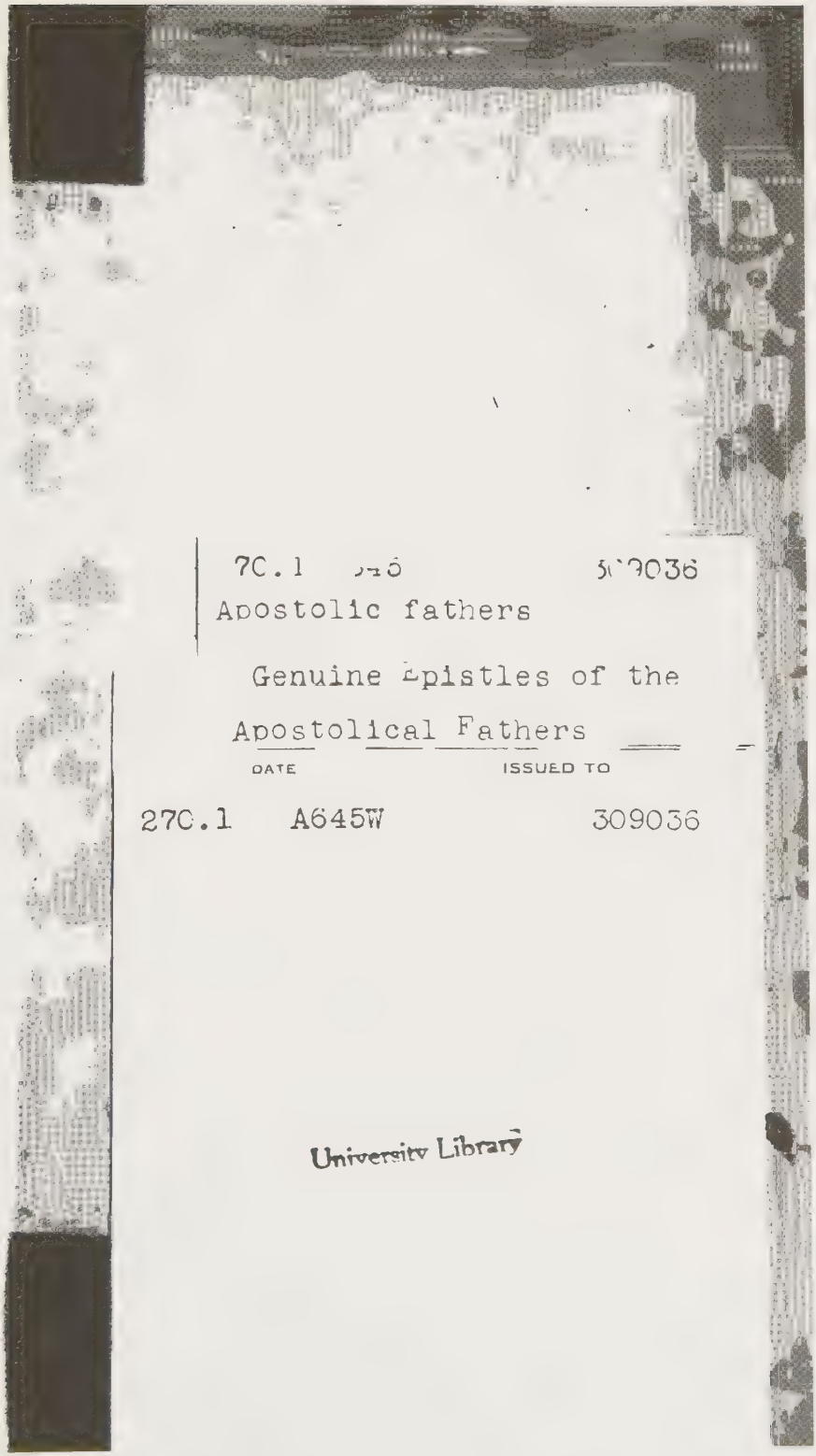

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